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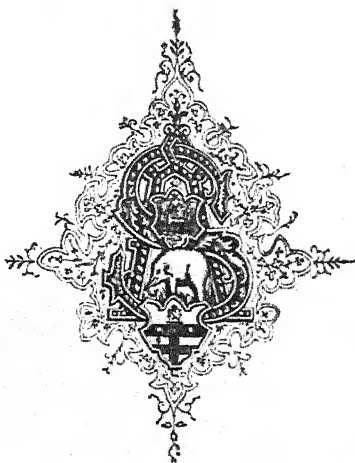
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JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN

(1829—94)

BY JOHN ROACH

THE INFLUENCE OF English law upon Indian history and politics has been considerable and merits further examination. One approach to this lies through a study of the nineteenth century Law Members of the Viceroy's Council, who held a distinctive position among the high officials of Indian government. They were not normally professional administrators or Indian residents; coming out from England, they brought to bear upon Indian affairs a point of view which reflected current English conditions far more closely than that of their colleagues. Among the eminent men who held the office were T. B. Macaulay, H. S. Maine, and C. P. Ilbert. Another important figure whose work as Legal Member deserves reassessment is J. F. Stephen, whose short tenure (1869—72) marks an important stage in the completion of the Indian codes. When he was appointed in 1869 he was a man of forty. After Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, he had become a moderately successful barrister, who had written on the history and principles of the criminal law. He had also made a considerable reputation as a journalist, and had been a leading light, both of the *Saturday Review* and of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. His stay in India was cut short by financial worries and family responsibilities, but, after he went home, he maintained a great interest in Indian affairs. He wrote on them in newspapers and periodicals, and his attack on English Liberalism, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* (1873), was primarily inspired by his Indian experiences. He was the friend and confidential correspondent of Lord Lytton (Viceroy, 1876—80). He wrote in 1885 *The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey*, in which he controverted Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings. In fact, for fifteen years after his return from official life, he preached to the English public on Indian affairs and on the prospects and objectives of British rule.¹ Among his disciples was the schoolboy George Curzon, for it was an address given by Stephen at Eton which first quickened the future Viceroy's interest in the Indian Empire.²

Stephen's philosophy was Utilitarian. Before he went to India

¹ Leslie Stephen, *Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen* (2nd. ed.).

² H. Nicolson, *Curzon: The Last Phase*, 12. (I owe this reference to Mr. J. P. T. Bury.)

he had been advocating further legal reform in England on Benthamite lines, and he was a strong supporter of J. S. Mill's empiricism and a critic of abstract metaphysical propositions and *a priori* reasoning. The Utilitarian influence, so profound in England in his generation, had also deeply affected India. Bentham's legal theories had come to India through T. B. Macaulay, who inaugurated the whole process of legal reform. The idea of *laissez faire* had been expressed at home in the Charter Act of 1833, which finally wound up the Company's commercial transactions, and in India in the abolition of Inland Transit duties in 1835. Moreover there was a change in the whole attitude of British Indian administration. Earlier officials had often admired, or had at least accepted, the ancient institutions of the country, but to the Utilitarian, with his zeal for improvement, these seemed hopelessly corrupt and in need of drastic reform on western lines. Salvation could come only from outside, through the language, the ideas, the institutions of the English. James Mill, who was both a disciple of Bentham and an important official at the India House, proclaimed this point of view in his *History of British India* (1817). It was expressed in the policy of encouraging Western education adopted by Lord William Bentinck and recommended by Macaulay and Charles Trevelyan. The Utilitarians never controlled the government of India, but for a generation they, together with the Evangelicals who were so closely allied with them, set the pace when changes were discussed. Their greatest leader in the second generation, John Stuart Mill, spent his working life in the India House, and Stephen fits into the general pattern. He based the Indian law of evidence on a theory derived from Mill's *Logic*.¹ His attitude towards the law of contract, which will be discussed later, was very much in the *laissez faire* tradition.² Like Trevelyan, he was continually thinking of the enlightenment of India by its rulers. "Our true position there," he wrote on his way home in 1872, "is essentially that of teachers. So far we have not got much beyond teaching (in a singularly emphatic and successful way) the general doctrine of law and order."³

It was naturally as a law reformer, a "Benthamee Lyncurgus" as

¹ J. F. Stephen, *The Indian Evidence Act (I of 1872). With an Introduction on the Principles of Judicial Evidence.*

² See pp. 6, 8-10.

³ Stephen to Emily Cunningham, 25th April, 1872 (Cambridge University Library); C. E. Trevelyan, *On the Education of the People of India.*

he called himself,¹ that he left his chief mark, and his legislative work in India forms part of the long process of codifying and consolidating the laws of India which was inspired by the Benthamites. Before he went there much had already been achieved. The first Indian Law Commission, consisting of Macaulay and three of the Company's civil servants, was appointed in 1834, and its chief monument was Macaulay's draft of a Penal Code, though this did not become law until after the Mutiny.² In the meantime the law of British India remained in a confused and indeterminate state. For purposes of administration the country was divided into Regulation and Non-Regulation provinces; the former were governed by extremely complex Regulations made by the Governor-General; the latter, the more newly acquired districts, of which the Punjab was the most important, had a simpler system. Stephen himself quoted as an example of the obscurity of the Regulations that in 1871 it was discovered that "nearly every trial which had taken place in Bengal and the North-West Provinces since 1829 was irregular, no court during all that time having had proper jurisdiction to try the more serious class of offenders".³ In 1853 a second Indian Law Commission was appointed in London and drew up Codes of Civil and of Criminal Procedure, which became law in 1859 and in 1861 respectively. The Penal Code had finally been passed into law in 1860. In the following year a third Commission was set up in London, and its draft, regulating the law of succession and inheritance for those who were neither Europeans nor members of the main Indian religions, became, in 1865, the Indian Succession Act, when Maine was Legal Member. Drafts of a Contract Act and of an Evidence Act were pending when Maine went home and Stephen succeeded him.⁴

This great activity was part of the whole process of administrative reorganization which followed the assumption of direct power by the Crown in 1858. As Maine pointed out, the influence of English law had profoundly affected Indian life.⁵ Much of that law was highly technical and quite unsuited for Indian conditions; what was

¹ Stephen to G. S. Venables, 4th July, 1870 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

² J. F. Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, iii, 299; Sir Courtenay Ilbert, *Legislative Methods and Forms*, 126, 129-30.

³ "Indian Legislation under Lord Mayo," in W. W. Hunter, *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, ii, 185 (cited as Hunter, *Mayo*).

⁴ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 200, 225; Ilbert, *Legislative Methods and Forms*, 130-1.

⁵ *Village Communities in the East and West* (3rd. ed.), 300.

needed was a code which should set out fundamental principles with simplicity and accuracy. As the country became wealthier and more secure, a demand arose for a fixed legal system; the old days of unfettered personal discretion were over.¹ Stephen was impressed by the same phenomena.² He thought that the new situation was the result of three main causes: the general prevalence of peace, the coming to India of better educated civilians under the system of competition introduced by the Charter Act of 1853, and the spread of education among the natives.³ He made constant reference to the belief of many of the older civilians that an established legal system was a hindrance to the executive power.⁴ His own point of view, on the contrary, was that effective laws were an essential prerequisite to vigorous administration. If the law were suitable, it would strengthen a civilian's hand in a wild district, and provide safeguards that he should not sink to the level of his own subjects.⁵

Stephen's first trial of strength was with the Indian Law Commissioners, between whom and the Indian government there had been considerable friction, especially over the proposed Contract Act.⁶ In a minute of February, 1870, he pointed out that the dispute raised the issue whether the Indian Legislative Council was to have any independent power at all.⁷ Two months later he was writing that the end for him might be resignation or recall, but it was in fact the commissioners who resigned later in the year on the ground that nothing had been done to put their recommendations into effect.⁸ Subsequently he had a far freer hand. He defined the object of Indian legislation as two-fold: the codification of the law which was unwritten, or contained in text-books or reported cases, and

¹ Sir M. E. Grant Duff, *Sir Henry Maine, a brief Memoir . . . with some of his Indian Speeches and Minutes*, 233, 234, 246.

² Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 165-7.

³ *Minutes 1869-1872* (Government of India, Legislative Department), no. 1, 90-1 (cited as *Minutes*).

⁴ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 154-5.

⁵ *Minutes*, 80-1; Speeches on Panjab Regulations Bill, 27th June, 5th September, 1871 (*Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India assembled for the purpose of making laws and regulations*, 1871, 563, 637) and on Criminal Tribes Bill, 12th October, 1871 (*ibid.* 655) (cited as *Abstract*).

⁶ Stephen to Duke of Argyll, 18th January, 1871 (Argyll papers, Inveraray); Duke of Argyll to Stephen, 17th February, 28th November, 1870 (Camb. Univ. Lib.); Ilbert, *Legislative Methods and Forms*, 133-4.

⁷ *Minutes*, no. 5, 107-11.

⁸ J. F. Stephen to Leslie Stephen, 17th April, 1870 (Camb. Univ. Lib.); *Minutes*, 148; Ilbert, *op. cit.* 134-5.

the consolidation of the written or statute law.¹ In a minute of February, 1870, he sketched a plan for the reduction to order of the Indian Statute Book, which was made up of laws passed by several different authorities, and was "totally destitute of arrangement".² One important immediate objective was to consolidate the statute law so that one act alone should cover each separate subject.³ There was, for instance, much confusion about the laws which were in force in the Punjab. An act of 1871 systematized the law of Land Revenue Procedure, a subject of the greatest importance in a country where land was the foundation of government finance.⁴ An act of the following year consolidated the Punjab executive orders made before the Indian Councils Act of 1861.⁵

This work of creating order out of disorder was one of the major consequences of British rule. In one department, however, the British created new distinctions which had not existed before. The corrosive effects of Western ideas on native faiths and customs produced new problems in a country where traditionally law and religion were inseparably connected. It had long been British policy to establish religious equality in India and to remove civil disabilities resulting from a change of faith. One problem of this sort which Stephen inherited from Maine was that of the validity of the marriages of the Brahma Samaj. The Native Marriage Act of 1872 instituted a form of marriage which might be adopted by anyone who was ready to declare that he was neither a Christian, nor a Jew, nor a member of any of the recognized Indian religions. Stephen's letters show that the matter was keenly argued in the Legislative Council. The bill was discussed in January, 1872, postponed until March, and finally carried only by eight votes to five. "That man Inglis really believes in his heart," Stephen wrote (19th January, 1872), "that a Hindu or Mahomedan who leaves his own creed and does not become a Christian, ought not to be permitted

¹ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 177.

² *Minutes*, no. 4, 97-107.

³ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 186; see also speeches on Obsolete Enactments Bill, 25th February, 18th March, 1870 (*Abstract*, 1870, 105-112, 143-5): on Pleaders, Mukhtars, and Revenue Agents Bill, 6th January, 1871, and on Coroners Bill, 27th January, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 1-4, 41-6).

⁴ Speeches on Land Revenue Procedure (Punjab) Bill, 5th September, 30th October, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 613-29, 721-33).

⁵ Speeches on the Punjab Regulations Bill, 27th June, 5th September, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 561-6, 633-7) and on the Punjab Laws Bill, 26th March, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 213-9).

to marry or to have civil rights at all."¹ His own point of view was that religious equality was one of the fruits of British rule. Where there was a clear case of injustice, the British must not shrink from applying a remedy. To do anything else would be an act of mere timidity and would make nonsense of the fundamental standards of their government.²

The core of Stephen's legislative work lay, however, in the three acts which carried on the process of codification, the Contract Act, the Evidence Act, and the revised Code of Criminal Procedure, all of which became law in 1872. The first two were based on the draft of the Indian Law Commissioners, though he had materially altered them.³ Cognate with the third is a long minute on the administration of justice, in which he was critical of many things, notably of the system of appeals, but in which he concluded that the judicial administration of India was admirably coherent and vigorous, and compared in some ways favourably with that of England.⁴ After his return to England in 1872, the pace of codification slackened for some time. At the end of the decade it was quickening again, and Stephen, together with Maine, was consulted by the India Office about the further steps which might properly be taken.⁵ In his answer he stated that codification could be regarded either as a scientific exposition of fundamental principles or merely as the orderly statement of such parts of the law as were suitable for such statement. He appreciated that, in India, the more restricted aim must be followed, since there were great departments of Indian life, like marriage and inheritance, which were quite unsuited to regulation according to English ideas. As a practical English lawyer, he was anxious that the government should do the most which it was possible to do, but he thought that nothing but harm could be done by importing branches of the law which had no relevance to Indian conditions in order to attain some ideal of theoretical symmetry. "It appears to me," he wrote to Lord Lytton in 1878 "that to codify for the sake of codifying is exactly like

¹ Stephen to his wife, 19th January, 1872 (Camb. Univ. Lib.). J. F. D. Inglis was a Bengal civilian and member of the Legislative Council.

² Speeches on the Native Marriage Bill, 16th January, 19th March, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 15-53, 183-9).

³ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 201-2.

⁴ *Minutes*, no. 1, especially p. 94.

⁵ Stephen to Lord Lytton, 25th September, 1878, 25th May, 22nd July, 1879 (Camb. Univ. Lib.); *Minutes*, no. 37 "Codification in India".

making public works for the sake of the engineers.”¹ Within the limits thus imposed he thought that enough had been done to provide for the demands of British administration and commerce, even though certain gaps remained.

Looking back over the whole process, he had no doubt of its success. He refuted the charge of haste and insufficient preparation by explaining the methods of Indian legislation.² After a bill had been drawn, it was sent to local governments who returned it, with their criticisms, to a special committee of the Legislative Council, where it was considered by men with the widest knowledge of the subjects under discussion. He considered that Indian acts were prepared with far greater care and discussed with far greater knowledge of the subject than the average act of parliament³; so far as results went, the Evidence and Contract Acts had reduced to an explicit form a mass of legal uncertainties,⁴ while the Criminal Procedure Code regulated the whole system of criminal justice. “If it is asked,” he wrote of that code, “how the system works in practice, I can only say that it enables a handful of unsympathetic foreigners (I am far from thinking that if they were more sympathetic they would be more efficient) to rule justly and firmly about 200,000,000 persons, of many races, languages, and creeds, and, in many parts of the country, bold, sturdy, and warlike . . . The Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the institutions which they regulate, are somewhat grim presents for one people to make to another, and are little calculated to excite affection; but they are extremely well calculated to protect peaceable men and to beat down wrongdoers, to extort respect, and to enforce obedience.”⁵ Since the main codifying acts contained within a small compass all the essential information needed by a district officer, the civilians had a good knowledge of the law. Thus Stephen described how he “once had occasion to consult a military officer on certain matters connected with habitual criminals. His special duty was the suppression of Thugs. Upon some remark which I made he pulled out of his pocket a little Code of Criminal Procedure, bound like a memorandum book, turned up the precise section which related to

¹ Stephen to Lord Lytton, 2nd August, 1878 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

² Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 150-2.

³ Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, iii, 346.

⁴ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 201, 202.

⁵ Stephen, *History of Criminal Law*, iii, 344-5.

the matter in hand, and pointed out the way in which it worked with perfect precision."¹

Stephen's claims were endorsed by several writers who were his friends and associates. M. E. Grant Duff called the codes the greatest benefit, next to the suppression of private war, which we had conferred upon India.² To H. S. Cunningham Indian legislation left little to be desired in clearness of language and simplicity of arrangement.³ John Strachey recalled Stephen pointing to a mass of huge volumes which contained the law as it used to be and then producing a few octavo volumes which contained all the existing acts.⁴ "In form, intelligibility, and comprehensiveness," H. S. Maine thought, "the Indian codes stand against all competition."⁵ To W. W. Hunter the legal reforms had for the first time given the Indian peoples a bond of union.⁶ Fortunately, so far as Stephen himself is concerned, it is possible to compare these judgments with those of some of the leading legal writers of the day. To C. P. Ilbert, who was one of his successors as Legal Member, Stephen's achievement was that of an intellectual giant who had accomplished really important work, though he had done much in haste which needed patching and mending by his successors. The Evidence and Contract Acts, the latter of which had drawn much from an unsatisfactory model, the New York Civil Code, would not, Ilbert thought, satisfy English lawyers of his own day.⁷ James Bryce, like Ilbert, thought that Stephen's work, and the whole movement of Indian codification in general, had given good practical guidance to the civilian. He also, quoting the opinions which he had heard in India in 1888-9, concentrated his criticisms on the Contract and Evidence Acts. The latter was "too metaphysical yet deficient in subtlety"; the former "neither exact nor subtle, and its language . . . far from lucid." In rural districts its provisions increased the power of creditors over debtors to an undesirable extent, and in the Presidency towns the Act was unnecessary. Of Stephen's work in

¹ "Codification in India and England," *Fortnightly Review*, xii (new series), pp. 659-60.

² *Sir Henry Maine*, 60-1.

³ *British India and its Rulers*, 204.

⁴ *India, its Administration and Progress* (4th. ed.), 114.

⁵ In *The Reign of Queen Victoria* (ed. T. H. Ward), i, 503.

⁶ *The India of the Queen and other essays*, 19.

⁷ "Sir James Stephen as a Legislator," *Law Quarterly Review*, x, pp. 223, 224, 226; "Lord Hobhouse," *Speaker*, xi, p. 286.

general Bryce wrote : " Everyone agreed that Sir J. F. Stephen . . . was a man of great industry, much intellectual force, and warm zeal for codification. But his capacity for the work of drafting was deemed not equal to his fondness for it. He did not shine either in fineness of discrimination or in delicacy of expression." ¹ Sir Frederick Pollock's judgment was more favourable, but he also pointed out that the Contract Act was a fusion of several drafts, and that the introductory definitions, which Stephen himself added, and which he considered to have improved the clarity of the act, were not completely in harmony with the rest. The general result was, however, sound and useful, and although Stephen had sometimes gone too fast, had he waited until his work was beyond criticism he might have done nothing at all. ²

The broader criticism was that of policy—how far, whatever the virtues of the new legislation, it was fitted for Indian conditions. India had been treated, wrote S. S. Thorburn, a Punjab civil servant, by successive Legal Members of Council as if it were inhabited by homogeneous and highly educated people, anxious to be ruled by up-to-date Western laws. ³ The scientific jurisprudence of Bentham and Austin, thought A. K. Connell, another critic, writing in 1880, with its advanced ideas of individual rights and human equality, had been applied to races whose ideas of right were collective, and who were used only to their own village customs. ⁴ As Ilbert wrote, it was comparatively easy to make laws for India ; the difficulty lay in seeing precisely how they would operate. ⁵ One natural battleground was that of Contract, and the Contract Act was a broad target for Stephen's critics. One school of thought maintained that the Western idea of the sanctity of contract was not justly applicable to the relationship of the Indian peasant to the moneylender, and that English law had given the moneylender a hold over the peasant which he had never had before. All Stephen's sympathies were on the other side. He admitted the vagueness of the Hindu law of proprietary right but, in answer to those who claimed equitable consideration for these cases, he wrote : " It appears to me that if the people of the Punjab do not understand that when they

¹ *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, i, 127-31.

² " Sir James Fitzjames Stephen," *National Review*, xxv, pp. 820-1 ; Sir F. Pollock and Sir D. F. Mulla, *Indian Contract and Specific Relief Acts* (6th. ed.), vii.

³ *The Punjab in Peace and War*, 245.

⁴ *Discontent and Danger in India*, 12.

⁵ *Speaker*, xi, p. 286.

borrow money they must repay it, and that the whole of their property is liable for its repayment, they cannot be taught that lesson too soon or too emphatically. It appears to me to be one of the chief lessons which we are here to teach."¹ In the Legislative Council debates on the Contract Bill, the civil service school, which feared the rigidity of English law, was represented by George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.² The amendments which he moved were based on the general idea that if the court thought a contract a hard bargain it should have power to modify it. At the time Campbell was unsuccessful, but his forebodings are re-echoed in the judgment of Bryce and of S. S. Thorburn, who, after practical experience, called the Contract Act "totally incomprehensible to agriculturalists", and the source of a mass of conflicting rulings on points such as "consent", "ignorance", and "undue influence".³

The standard charge against the Legislative Department, and perhaps against Stephen in particular, was that of over-legislation,⁴ though it must be remembered that before he left India Stephen acknowledged that the greater part of the practicable work of codification and consolidation had been completed.⁵ One of his arguments in his own defence is very difficult to rebut. He could understand, he wrote, those who wished to have good laws and those who wished to have no laws at all, but it seemed to him that people who preferred lengthy and confused to short and simple laws were merely muddled in their thinking.⁶ Undoubtedly some of the over-legislation cry derived from a refusal to see that what Stephen was doing was reducing, not increasing, the bulk of the law. For all Campbell's dislike of law and lawyers, there runs through his Legislative Council speeches the reluctant admission that legal reform is inevitable.⁷ Much, for instance, as he feared that the Punjab, that paradise of the old-fashioned civilian, would become

¹ *Minutes*, 115; see also Speech on the Brouch Taluqdars Relief Bill, 17th February, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 71).

² See his amendments to the Indian Contract Bill, 9th April, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 346-52) and his *Memoirs of my Indian Career*, ii, 269-70.

³ *Musalman and Moneylenders in the Punjab*, 118-9; *The Punjab in Peace and War*, 249.

⁴ Bernard Mallet, *Thomas George Earl of Northbrook*, 65.

⁵ Speech on the Indian Contract Bill, 9th April, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 330).

⁶ Speech on the Sessions Courts Bill, 12th May, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 537).

⁷ Campbell's speech on the Indian Evidence Bill, 12th March, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 140).

law-ridden, he appreciated that the mass of executive orders which had grown up there must be reduced to reasonable shape.¹ Yet, from another point of view, the charge of over-legislation is just. Stephen thought that the law, having been once reformed, must be continually kept in good order ; it needed, in his own phrase, men working on it all the time just as a railway line needs platelayers.² It was later pointed out that no code can ever be complete and that it must always be supplemented by reference to particular cases.³ Moreover, there was danger in such constant changes. The great demand of the peasant, argued a Bengal civilian, was to be let alone.⁴ Frequent tampering with the law meant a fickle temper in the despot, and serious abuses might result from the execution of even the most benevolent reforms. There was truth in the remark of Sir Robert Montgomery, one of the old school of Punjab statesmen, on Stephen's Punjab Laws Act that changes were now so frequent that he did not wonder at "the amazement of a people who twenty years ago had never heard of a law".⁵

If this interpretation is just, Stephen may be criticized, not so much for doing too much, as for failing to relate his activities sufficiently to Indian conditions. The biographers of his successor as Legal Member, Arthur Hobhouse, wrote very shrewdly that, though Stephen wished to be considered primarily a practical lawyer, he had a strong dash of the "professorial spirit".⁶ Somehow Indian facts and problems had to be made to conform to the requirements of Utilitarian theory and English legal practice. Some of the comments made by civilians and annexed to Stephen's minute on the Administration of Justice bring out the same truth.⁷ The complaints of the people against our civil courts, they said, arose from grievances such as the expense of litigation and the power of the moneylender, which could not be remedied by purely procedural changes. "The evil to be remedied should be an evil felt as such, and bearing a strict

¹ Campbell's speech on the Panjab Laws Bill, 26th March, 1872 (*Abstract*, 1872, 221-2).

² Speech on the Coroners' Bill, 27th January, 1871 (*Abstract*, 1871, 45-6).

³ *The Pioneer*, 14th October, 1886.

⁴ R. Carstairs, *British Work in India*, 191, 193, 202-3, 212, 213-4.

⁵ G. R. Elsmie, *Thirty Five Years in the Punjab*, 165.

⁶ L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond, *Lord Hobhouse, a Memoir*, 61.

⁷ *Papers relating to the expediency of having a distinct judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department*, cxxxvi (1877).

relation to the proposed reform." ¹ In such a matter as this it is desirable to inquire whether the people want changes, and, if so, "what changes are calculated to render our courts more popular and to inspire greater confidence in their decisions . . ." ² Stephen would hardly have accepted the point of view implied in these words because his views on Indian legislation rested on different premises about the whole nature of British government in India.

There is no doubt that Stephen's work in India modified his whole conception of life. Doubts were cleared away, and difficulties half sensed before, resolved. As a young man he had been a Liberal, but he was in 1869 already disillusioned by the weak and ineffective government produced by democracy. In India he found the discipline and organization which enabled a few men to achieve great results. "There," he wrote from England in later years, "you see real government. Here you see disorganized anarchy which is quickly throwing off the mask." ³ About England's position in India he had no doubts or hesitations. The Indian Empire was "the very boldest and most successful enterprise ever tried by mortal men" ⁴; the Roman Empire was not to be compared with it for a moment "in moral interest". ⁵ In using that phrase he thought solely of the problems involved in equipping a medley of Eastern peoples with an efficient Western system of government. Beyond that he did not try to penetrate. There was always a limit to his appreciation of things Indian, and his purview was strictly the history of his own people in India, and the impact of Western ideas of government, which were right, upon Indian ideas, which were wrong. ⁶ He was not interested in India itself, in the long record of Indian civilization and religion. To him there was a permanent conflict between the British and the Indian views of life, in which the former must be made to prevail, and in his references to Indians, especially to the Western educated class, a note of contempt is apt to creep in. ⁷ The British owed their position to conquest. Their task was to introduce the fundamental ideas of European civilization, which was possible only

¹ Ibid. 341-2.

² Ibid. 198.

³ Stephen to Lady Grant Duff, 13th July, 1882 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

⁴ Stephen to his wife, 13th February, 1870 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

⁵ Stephen to Emily Cunningham, 6th March, 1877 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

⁶ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 172.

⁷ Stephen to his wife, 26th December, 1860, and another undated letter, of the same month; Stephen to Annie Thackeray, 16th June, 1870 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

while the direction of affairs remained in European hands. It was impossible to rule either by representative government or by native agency, and, given strong resolute leadership there was no reason why the existing position should not continue indefinitely.¹

This was the view of Indian government which Stephen expounded for many years, and it is implicit in his legal work. In the troubled days of Lord Lytton, the only period during the century when Indian questions were a principal issue between the two great English parties, he engaged in many newspaper controversies in the Viceroy's defence.² John Bright, who had, according to Stephen, urged that our power in India was based on ambition, crime, and conquest, was one target for his attack. He answered that our past in India was a matter not for shame but for pride: "I deny that ambition and conquest are crimes; I say that ambition is the great incentive to every manly virtue, and that conquest is the process by which every great state in the world (the United States not excepted) has been built up . . . I for one feel no shame when I think of that great competitive examination which lasted for just 100 years, and of which the first paper was set on the field of Plassey and the last for the present under the walls of Delhi and Lucknow."³

The fullest statement of Stephen's position is to be found in the controversy over the Ilbert Bill of 1883, which proposed to withdraw from European British subjects their privilege of trial in criminal cases by judges of their own race. This unleashed an agitation by the British community in India, and led Stephen, who had been responsible for the re-enacted Code of Criminal Procedure of 1872 on which the existing arrangements were based, to write several letters to *The Times*, some of which were later re-published in pamphlet form.⁴ He said that no reflection was being made on the competence or integrity of Indian magistrates, but he asserted that they would not understand the ways of Europeans, and that the latter would resent their authority. The question, he thought, was not one of principle, but of practical convenience, and that being so there was every reason to respect the opinions of the British community

¹ Stephen to Lady Grant Duff, 13th September, 1883 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

² *The Times*, 31st May, 2nd June, 1877; 13th October, 1877; 16th, 22nd, 28th October, 12th, 15th, 20th November, 1878.

³ *The Times*, 4th January, 1878.

⁴ 1st, 2nd March, 1883. Two letters of 2nd and 9th November, 1883, were reprinted as *Letters on the Ilbert Bill*.

because their so-called privileges did the natives no harm. In any case the proposed reform removed only one small part of the difference between the legal position of natives and Europeans. Clearly what he feared was that the bill would become a precedent for future legislation. The counter argument that Englishmen ought not to try natives was invalid because that situation was an inevitable result of our position in India, which was itself an abuse or an anomaly. Once the process of change starts, Stephen was arguing, where was it to stop? Were not such changes as these incompatible with the foundation on which British rule rests? "(The British government of India) is essentially an absolute government, founded, not on consent, but on conquest. It does not represent the native principles of government, nor can it do so until it represents heathenism and barbarism. It represents a belligerent civilization, and no anomaly can be so striking or so dangerous as its administration by men who, being at the head of a government founded on conquest, implying at every point the superiority of the conquering race, of their ideas, their institutions, their opinions, and their principles, and having no justification for its existence, except that superiority, shrink from the open, uncompromising, straightforward assertion of it, seek to apologize for their own position, and refuse, from whatever cause, to uphold and support it."¹

Even in the eighties this position was a blind alley. It is conceivable that, from the beginning, the English might have left Indian ways of thought alone. But that would have prevented the introduction of the Western ideas in which Stephen so firmly believed. Once the English revolution in India had begun, its very purpose was to train the people in Western ideas, and, the more successful it was the more inevitable it became that Indians should demand a share in managing their own affairs. The end of the Ilbert Bill affair is instructive. It was settled by a compromise, but the controversy had taught Indians the power of an organized agitation, and the racial sentiments expressed by Europeans were soon to be re-echoed on the other side. The beginnings of modern Indian nationalism were not far off. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Mutiny of 1857 had cast its dark shadow over the men of Stephen's generation, and to many men of less authoritarian sentiments than

¹ "Foundations of the Government of India," *Nineteenth Century*, xiv, p. 542, taken, with trifling differences, from Stephen's letter to *The Times*, 1st March, 1883.

he, India must have seemed a place where, for an indefinite time to come, England's task was not to conciliate but to command. Trustees for the peoples of India, the English might be, but the trust was to last for ever, and they alone were to decide how it was to be discharged.¹

Among Stephen's contemporaries, all of them working in that post-Mutiny atmosphere, it is natural to compare his views with those of his predecessor as Legal Member, H. S. Maine. They were life-long friends and their social and political outlook was very similar. Both of them felt keenly the issues raised by the interaction of Western and Eastern cultures. To Stephen it was a one way affair, England the teacher and India the taught. To Maine, with his finer feeling for the development of institutions, there was something on both sides. The civilization of India might need correcting by that of England,² but it was also "the great repository of verifiable phenomena of ancient usage and ancient juridical thought",³ destined perhaps to be the source of a new science of comparative jurisprudence through the beliefs and institutions which it had preserved from the remotest ages.⁴ There is a sense of the complexity of human phenomena and of the interaction of cultures which Stephen, with his much more legalistic outlook, lacked. Perhaps he suffered from the speed at which his work was done. A more radical defect may be that he was inclined by temperament to over-simplify complex problems. He described in a letter to his wife how he had spent a long time in unravelling a ball of string . . . "my delight in getting anything whatever straight, whether it is a law or a piece of string, is almost puerile, indeed quite."⁵ Sometimes, in legal matters, he underestimated the difficulties, and did not consider how far the people were likely to be satisfied with the law which he proudly called "the gospel of the English."⁶ Maine again had the surer touch. He wrote of the blessings of English rule, of peace and material happiness, but "there are some drawbacks, and among them no doubt is the tendency of a well-intentioned government to regard these things as the sum of all which a community can desire, and to

¹ G. O. Trevelyan, *The Competition Wallah* (2nd. ed.), letter ix; Sir Henry Cotton, *Indian and Home Memories*, 65-6; Sir Valentine Chirol, *India Old and New*, 101.

² Sir M. E. Grant Duff, *Sir Henry Maine*, 16.

³ H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, 22.

⁴ H. S. Maine, *Effects of Observation of India on Modern European Thought*, 10-11.

⁵ Stephen to his wife, 26th November, 1871 (Camb. Univ. Lib.).

⁶ Hunter, *Mayo*, ii, 169.

overlook the intangible moral forces which shake it below the surface".¹

Maine had, to an exceptional degree, the ability to generalize from his Indian experience, and to relate it to a wide range of juridical and philosophical concepts. Stephen's approach was narrower, partly because of his intense determination to be practical and his devotion to Utilitarian empiricism, partly because his almost mystical belief in the mission of British government prevented him from recognizing the claim of its Indian subjects to their own place in the sun. His limits were those of the British administrators of his day, and, within them, he was effective and successful, as his solid achievements in India prove. He left behind the reputation of a dominant figure in council, of a man of power and authority, sympathetic with the people, but with "the sympathy of a strong and almost inexorable ruler", of "a giant and not always a gentle giant of the law".² Alfred Lyall, who met him just after he had returned to England, wrote of him: "... he has that turn for clear free opinions with an edge to them which greatly attracts me. I am struck with the immense advantage to us Indians of getting such men to go out to India; the professional old Indian is without honour in this country... but when Maine and Stephen come home with strong views on our side, and strong impressions upon the real state of affairs in the East, the public listens to them."³

¹ H. S. Maine, *Effects of Observation of India* . . . , 36.

² *The Friend of India*, xvi (overland ed.), pp. 90, 426; *The Pioneer*, 12th October, 1886; Sir Richard Temple, *Men and Events of my Time in India*, 383, and *The Story of my Life*, i, 215-16.

³ Sir H. M. Durand, *Life of Sir A. C. Lyall*, 157.

TUN-SUN (頓遜)

BY PAUL WHEATLEY

WRITERS ON THE EARLY history of South-East Asia have frequently referred to a country known to the Chinese as 頓遜 (*Tun-sun*), but so far no one has collated all the available texts to furnish the fullest possible description of this shadowy state. The following notes are an attempt to show that their assembly provides one of the earliest extant accounts of the Malay Peninsula.

The first mention of the kingdom of *Tun-sun* occurs in the *Liang shu* (梁書), a Chinese dynastic history compiled in the first half of the seventh century A.D.¹

其南界三千餘里有頓遜國在海崎上地方千里城去海十里有五王並羈屬扶南頓遜之東界通交州其西界接天竺安息徼外諸國往還交市所以然者頓遜迴入海中千餘里漲海無崖岸船舶未曾得逕過也其市東西交會日有萬餘人珍物寶貨無所不有又有酒樹似安石榴采其花汁停甕中數日成酒。

More than 3,000 *li* from the southern frontier [of *Fu-nan*] is the kingdom of *Tun-sun*, which is situated on an ocean stepping-stone.² The land is 1,000 *li* in extent; the city is 10 *li* from the sea. There are five kings who all acknowledge themselves vassals of *Fu-nan*. The eastern frontier of *Tun-sun* communicates with *Chiao-chou* [Tonking], the western with *T'ien-chu* [India] and *An-hsi* [Parthia]. All the countries beyond the frontier come and go in pursuit of trade, because *Tun-sun* curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 *li*. The *Chang-hai* [South China Sea]³ is of great extent and ocean-going junks have not yet crossed it direct. At this mart east and west meet together, so that daily there are more than 10,000 people. Precious goods

¹ *Liang shu* (百衲本二十四史 Edition), chap. 54, f. 7, recto.

² For the interpretation of this phrase I am indebted to Arthur Waley who, in a personal communication, suggests that 崎 should be read as 倚, meaning *stepping-stone*. The significance of this emendation will become apparent in a later section of this essay.

³ See *K'ang hsi tzu tien* (康熙字典) under 漲, and *P'ei wen yün fu* (佩文韻府), chap. 40, under 海.

and rare merchandise—there is nothing which is not there. Moreover, there is a wine-tree which resembles the pomegranate. The juice of its flowers is collected and allowed to stand in a jar: after a few days it becomes wine.

This passage was first translated by Groeneveldt in 1879.¹ Schlegel, in 1899, also claimed to have translated it,² but his rendering is clearly derived from a similar passage in the seventh-century *Nan shih* (南史),³ and not from the *Liang shu*. In 1903 Paul Pelliot included this notice in his celebrated monograph on *Fu-nan*, but interpreted several significant sentences in a manner radically different from that of Groeneveldt.⁴ Laufer's French translation was essentially similar to Pelliot's,⁵ as was G. H. Luce's English version of 1925.⁶ In 1939 Sir Roland Braddell translated Pelliot's rendering into English,⁷ and finally in 1948 both Mr. Han Wai-toon⁸ and Mr. Hsü Yün-ts'iao⁹ published new versions. Chinese dynastic histories are devoid of punctuation, so that translators can avail themselves of considerable latitude, but even so these scholars differ widely in their interpretations of certain parts of the above passage, and these discrepancies are most marked in those phrases which might throw light on the position of *Tun-sun*. The phrase 在海崎上, for example, has been translated in the following ways.

¹ W. P. Groeneveldt, *Verhandelingen van het Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, vol. 39 (Batavia, 1879), now most conveniently accessible in revised form in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca", *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, Second Series, vol. 1 (London, 1887), pp. 239-240.

² G. Schlegel, "Geographical Notes," *T'oung Pao* (Leiden, 1899), pp. 33-4.

³ *Nan shih* (百衲本二十四史 Edition), 海南諸國, chap. 78, f. 5, recto.

⁴ P. Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, tome 3 (Hanoi, 1903), p. 263.

⁵ B. Laufer, "Malabathron," *Journal Asiatique*, tome 12 (Paris; juillet-août, 1918), pp. 28-9.

⁶ G. H. Luce, "Countries Neighbouring Burma," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 14, pt. 2 (Rangoon, 1925), pp. 147-8.

⁷ Dato' Sir Roland Braddell, "An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 17, pt. 1 (October, 1939), p. 194.

⁸ Han Wai-toon, "A Study on Johore Lama," *Journal of the South Seas Society*, vol. 5, pt. 2, no. 10 (Singapore, 1948), pp. 17-35.

⁹ Hsü Yün-ts'iao, "Notes on Malay Peninsula in Ancient Voyages," *Journal of the South Seas Society*, vol. 5, pt. 2, No. 10 (1948), pp. 1-16.

| | |
|-------------|---|
| Groeneveldt | <i>it is situated on a peninsula.</i> |
| Schlegel | <i>situated upon a steep hill in the sea.¹</i> |
| Pelliot | <i>qui est sur un rivage escarpé.</i> |
| Laufer | <i>situé sur une côte escarpée.</i> |
| Luce | <i>It lies on a rugged coast.</i> |
| Braddell | <i>which is upon a precipitous shore.</i> |
| Han | <i>on the irregular seacoast.</i> |
| Hsü | <i>it lies on a cliffy coast.</i> |

The important passage 所以然者頓遜迴入海中千餘里
漲海無崖岸船舶未曾得逕過也 has also been variously
translated.

| | |
|-------------|--|
| Groeneveldt | <i>... the reason of this being that if from Tun-sun you put out to sea for more than 1,000 li, you still have a vast ocean before you, which no ship has ever been able to cross.</i> |
| Schlegel | <i>To the other side Tun-sun extends for more than a thousand miles into sea, where a boundless ocean is found, which ships have never been able to cross.²</i> |
| Pelliot | <i>La raison en est que le Touen-siun fait une courbe et s'avance dans la mer à plus de mille li. La Mer Immense est sans limites et on n'a pas encore pu la traverser directement.</i> |
| Laufer | <i>La position géographique de Toun-sun, qui décrit une courbe et s'étend dans la mer plus de mille li, explique ce fait. L'Immense Océan est sans limite et n'a pas encore été traversé directment.</i> |
| Luce | <i>The reason is that Tun-hsün curves round and enters the sea over 1,000 li. The Vast Ocean is shoreless ; junks cannot yet cross it direct.</i> |
| Braddell | <i>The reason is that Touen-siun makes a curve and goes out into the sea for more than a 1,000 li. The Great Sea is shoreless and one cannot go straight across it.</i> |
| Han | <i>Tuen Suen forms a bay in the sea as wide as a</i> |

¹ The passage in the *Nan shih* (p. 18 above) reproduces this phrase from the *Liang shu*. It is possible that Schlegel's translation was influenced by the expanded phrase 在海崎山上 which occurs in the *T'ung tien* (通典).

² This passage is not included in the notice in the *Nan shih* which Schlegel used, but he translated an identical remark from the *T'ung tien* (通典).

thousand li. When the tide rises, no shore can be seen. No ships pass over directly.

Hsü

... the reason of this being that Tun-sun extends more than 1,000 li into the "Swell Sea" which is so vast that no ship has ever been able to cross it directly.

These scholars whom I have quoted also differ among themselves on other less important points. Definitive certainty is not attainable in the translation of such obscure passages, but the version proposed above has sought to do violence neither to geographical probability nor to the structure of the Chinese sentences.

It would seem that the 頓遜 of folio 7 is the same as 典孫 mentioned two folios later in the *Liang shu*¹ :—

復以兵威攻伐旁國咸復屬之自號扶南大王
乃治作大船窮漲海攻屈都昆九稚典孫等十餘
國開地五六千里次當伐金隣。

Once more he [Fan-man] used troops to attack and subdue the neighbouring kingdoms, which all acknowledged themselves his vassals. He himself adopted the style of *Great King of Fu-nan*. Then he ordered the construction of great ships and crossing right over the *Chang-hai*, attacked more than ten kingdoms, including *Ch'ü-tu-k'un*, *Chiu-chih*, and *Tien-sun*. He extended his territory for 5-6,000 li. Then he attacked the kingdom of *Chin-lin*.²

Nothing more is heard of *Tun-sun* until we find a quotation from the third-century *Nan chou i wu chih* (南州異物志) preserved in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, which was compiled between A.D. 977 and 983.³

南州異物志曰頓遜在扶南三千餘里本爲別
國扶南先王范蔓有勇畧討服之今屬扶南。

The *Nan chou i wu chih* states that *Tun-sun* is more than 3,000 li from *Fu-nan*. Originally it was an independent kingdom. A former king of *Fu-nan*, *Fan-man*, was courageous; he seized and subdued it. At present it is subject to *Fu-nan*.

In the same chapter the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* repeats the passage from the *Nan shih* mentioned above, but goes on to add certain ethnographic details omitted from that account.⁴

¹ *Liang shu*, chap. 54, f. 9, recto.

² The country around the northern shores of the Gulf of Siam (see Braddell, op. cit., pp. 201-2).

³ Chap. 788, f. 1, verso (宋板 Edition).

⁴ Chap. 788, ff. 1, verso, and 2, recto.

竺芝扶南記曰頓遜國屬扶南國王名崑崙國
 有天竺胡五百家兩佛圖天竺婆羅門千餘人頓
 遜敬奉其道嫁女與之故多不去唯讀天神經以
 香花自洗精進不捨晝夜疾困便發願鳥葬歌舞
 送之邑外有鳥啄食餘骨作灰罌盛沉海鳥苦不
 食乃藍盛火葬者投火餘灰函盛埋之祭祀無年
 限有酒樹有似安石榴取花與汁停甕中數日乃
 成酒美而醉人。

The *Fu-nan chi*, by *Chu-Chih*, states that the kingdom of *Tun-sun* is a dependency of *Fu-nan*. Its king is called K'un-lun.¹ In the country there are five hundred families of *hu*² from India, two *fo-tu*,³ and more than a thousand Indian Brahmans. The people of *Tun-sun* practise their doctrine and give them their daughters in marriage; consequently many of the Brahmans do not go away. They do nothing but study the sacred canon, bathe themselves with scents and flowers, and practise piety ceaselessly by day and night. In times of sickness they vow a bird burial. With songs and dances they are escorted outside the town, where birds devour them. The remaining bones are burnt to ashes, put in an urn, and sunk in the sea. If the birds do not eat them, they are put into a basket. Burial by fire entails throwing oneself into the fire. The ashes remaining are put in a casket and entombment sacrifices are offered for an indefinite period. There is the wine-tree which resembles the pomegranate. Its flowers are gathered and their juice allowed to stand in a jar. After a few days it becomes an excellent intoxicating wine.

This passage has also been translated into French by Pelliot (op. cit., pp. 279-280)⁴ and into English by Luce (op. cit., pp. 149-150), while Braddell has published an English version of Pelliot's rendering (op. cit., p. 196). The principal difference between these interpreta-

¹ Probably represents Old Khmer *Kuruñ* = king, regent—P. Pelliot, "Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e Siècle," *B.E.F.E.O.*, tome 4 (1904), pp. 228-230.

² The name *hu* (胡) refers specifically to Mongol and Tartar tribes of Central Asia, but Pelliot is probably correct in saying that it includes Indians "au sens large". He also discerns in the distinction between *hu* and brahmans some indication that the former were a merchant class (op. cit., p. 279, footnote 4).

³ *Fo-t'u* has not been satisfactorily explained. It may mean either the Buddha or a *stupa*. Pelliot thinks the expression might possibly signify "a buddhist".

⁴ Pelliot's translation is reproduced by G. Ferrand, "Le K'ouen-louen et les Anciennes Navigations Interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud," *Journal Asiatique*, onzième série, tome 13 (Paris; mars-avril, 1919), p. 242.

tions and the translation above arises from the use of different editions of the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*. In those used by Pelliot and Luce the 自 of the clause 以香花自洗精進不捨晝夜 is replaced by 白. Pelliot renders this as "et leur offrent assidument des vases blancs de parfums et de fleurs", and Luce as "and constantly offer up to them white vases of perfumes and flowers without ceasing, day and night". However, Pelliot (footnote 6) admits that he has arrived at this interpretation without conviction. The use of 洗 to mean a small vase is unusual, although it does designate the water pot of the calligrapher and also occurs in the expression 洗指盞 = finger-bowls.

A considerable part of this information is also found in a *T'ang* work dating from the end of the eighth century A.D., the *T'ung tien* (通典) of *Tu-Yu*, but bird burial is described more fully, and the great quantities of flowers produced in *Tun-sun* are also remarked upon.¹

國有區撥等花十種冬夏不衰日載數十車貨
 之其花燥更芬馥亦未爲粉以傳身焉其俗又多
 鳥葬將死親賓歌舞於郭外有鳥食肉將盡乃去燒
 紅色飛來萬許家人避之鳥食必生天鳥若迴翔不食
 骨沉海中以爲上行人也已有穢乃更就火葬以爲次
 其人乃自悲復以爲已不食鳥食以爲不行也。

In the country [of *Tun-sun*] there are distributed more than ten kinds of flowers, which do not wither in winter or summer. Daily ten carts are filled with those flowers. When dried their fragrance is enhanced, and the dust is used as a powder with which to coat the body. Bird burial is a common custom. When a man is about to die, his relatives and friends sing and dance outside the town, where birds resembling geese, red in colour and with bills like those of parrots come flying in myriads. After the man's family has withdrawn the birds devour his flesh; when they have finished it completely they fly away. The bones are burnt and sunk in the sea. The man is then regarded as a person of superior conduct who will certainly be reborn in heaven. But if the birds circle and soar and do not feed on the man, he is afflicted and considers himself impure. He then has recourse to fire burial, but

¹ This passage has also been translated into French by le Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des Peuples Étrangers à la Chine* (Geneva, 1883), pp. 444-7, and into English by Schlegel, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-6.

this is considered an inferior course of action. If he is neither able to rush into the flames alive, nor is devoured by the birds, he is considered to be of bad character.

The notice of the flowers also appears word for word in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, which adds further botanical details¹ :—

唐書曰頓遜國出霍香插枝便生葉如都梁以
蓑衣。

The *T'ang shu*² states that the kingdom of *Tun-sun* produces *huo-hsiang*.³ This is propagated by suckers. Its leaves are like those of the *tu-liang*⁴ and serve to perfume clothes.

Nearly all the material quoted above also finds a place in chapter 176 of the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* (太平寰宇記), a geographical compendium published c. A.D. 980.

It would seem, too, that there is one further reference to this kingdom to be found in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*⁵ :—

This passage has usually been read as follows :—

南州異物志曰霍香生曲遜國屬扶風香形如
梁可以著衣服中。

The *Nan chou i wu chih* states that *huo-hsiang* grows in the country of *Ch'ü-sun*. The plant is of the *fu-feng* type, and in appearance is like the *tu-liang*. It can be used for the preservation of clothing.

But Laufer has amended 曲遜 to 典遜.⁶ Moreover, Luce would read 扶風 as 扶南 and interpret 屬 as "dependent on" rather than as "class" or kind.⁷ These emendations would bring the passage into conformity with the notices discussed above :

The *Nan chou i wu chih* states that *huo-hsiang* grows in the country of *Tien-sun*, which is a dependency of *Fu-nan* . . .

Finally, the *Lo yang chia lan chi* (洛陽伽藍記) contains the following notice.⁸

¹ Chap. 788, f. 1, verso.

² This probably refers to the *T'ang shih lun tuan* (唐史論斷), a critical study of the history of the T'ang dynasty, written in the eleventh century.

³ Laufer (op. cit.) has demonstrated that 霍香 was the plant known to the ancient world of the West as *malabathron*, which he identifies as patchouli. As *Pogostemon heyneanus* this is found wild from India to the Philippines.

⁴ Laufer has identified this plant as the *Eupatorium* (op. cit., p. 27, footnote 5).

⁵ Chap. 982, f. 3, verso.

⁶ B. Laufer, op. cit., pp. 27-8.

⁷ Luce, op. cit., p. 151, footnote 1.

⁸ 四部叢刊 Edition, chap. 4, f. 18, recto.

善提拔隨自云行一月日至勾稚國北行十一日至孫典國從孫典國北行三十日至扶南國。

[Of his voyage to Fu-nan the monk] *P'ou-t'i-pa-t'o* (Bodhibhadra) himself says: After journeying northwards from *Ko-ying* (歌營) for one month I reached the kingdom of *Kou-chih*. After travelling northwards for eleven days I reached the kingdom of *Sun-tien*. From *Sun-tien* I voyaged northwards for thirty days, when I reached the kingdom of *Fu-nan* . . .

Pelliot considers *Kou-chih* to be identical with the country known variously as *Chü-chih* (句稚),¹ *Chiu-chih* (九稚),² *Chiu-li* (九離),³ and *Chü-li* (拘利),⁴ which I have elsewhere shown to be in all probability the same as that known to the Western world as *Kole* (Κόλη).⁵

The earliest works in which *Tun-sun* is mentioned are the *Liang shu* and the *Nan shih*, both from the seventh century A.D. These accounts may be called the geographical basis. Then supplementary detail, deriving from the third century *Nan chou i wu chih*, is preserved in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, together with ethnographic information from the *Fu-nan chi* of the fifth century. The enormous number of flowers and the existence of *huo-hsiang* are noted in the eighth-century *T'ung tien* and the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, while there is also a summary account of *Tun-sun* in the *San ts'ai t'u hui*. It is clear that we must seek the earliest source of these notices in some work written before the third century (the date of the *Nan chou i wu chih*), with possible additions until the seventh century (*Liang Shu* and *Nan Shih*). The clue to this early source is to be found in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, where we find successive sections beginning 康泰扶南土俗曰 . . .⁶ This refers to the 扶南土俗傳,⁷ an account

¹ *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, chap. 790, preserving a quotation from the third-century *Nan chou i wu chih*.

² *Liang shu*, chap. 54.

³ *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, chap. 177, and *T'ung tien*, chap. 188.

⁴ *Liang shu*, chap. 54, and *Shui ching chu*, chap. 1.

⁵ P. Wheatley, "Belated Comments on Sir Roland Braddell's Study of Ancient Times," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 28, pt. 1 (Singapore, 1955), pp. 78-98.

⁶ *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, chap. 787, ff. 3, 4, 5 (sections on 其調國, 北撻國, 馬五州, etc.).

⁷ Also known as the *Fu-nan chuan* (扶南傳) and *Fu-nan chi* in the *Shui ching chu*; as the *Fu-nan t'u su* (扶南土俗) in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, and as *K'ang T'ai wai kuo chuan* (康泰外國傳) in the *Shih chi cheng i*.

published on the return of *K'ang-T'ai* and *Chu-Ying* from a mission to *Fu-nan*, c. A.D. 245-250. While in *Fu-nan* the ambassadors heard about the countries of the South Seas, some of which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great King,¹ and doubtless their memoirs are the primary source of the notices of *Tun-sun* scattered through the Chinese histories and geographies of the ensuing centuries.

The geographical information in the above texts is obscure, but one point stands out clearly: the annalist of the Liang dynasty fully appreciated the cardinal factor in the history of the Malay Peninsula, namely its peninsular form obtruded athwart the sea-route between India and China ("*Tun-sun* curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 *li* . . . At this mart East and West meet together, so that daily there are more than 10,000 people"). Most scholars have, indeed, placed *Tun-sun* on the Peninsula, but its precise location has been a matter of controversy. Generally speaking, investigators have proposed two situations: the isthmus and the southern tip of the Peninsula. Schlegel, for example, derived the name *Tun-sun* from a Thai *Dōn-suēn*, meaning "The Land of Gardens".² Unfortunately we now know that the Thai did not establish themselves on the isthmus for nearly another thousand years and this ingenious theory is therefore no longer admissible. Luce thought that a site on the Isthmus of Kra would accord with Fan-man's strategy, which could then be interpreted as an out-flanking movement designed, in modern jargon, to encircle *Chin-lin* (see p. 20 above).³ Pelliot, too, after some hesitation, declared for the isthmus. Commenting on the passage 漲海無崖岸船舶未曾得逕過也 he says: "La phrase chinoise n'est pas claire. Le sens que j'adopte... me semblerait favoriser l'idée d'un transbordement de marchandises à travers l'isthme de Kra; les jonques chinoises n'auraient pas osé se diriger directement des côtes de l'Annam sur le détroit de Malacca; par suite, obligées de longer la côte, elles évitaient une énorme perte de temps en s'arrêtant à l'isthme de Kra."⁴

Mr Han Wai-toon, on the other hand, represents the school of thought which interprets the role of *Tun-sun* as that of an entrepôt at the southern tip of the Peninsula.⁵ The regular alternations of the monsoons meant that ships from China and the Archipelago were on their way home when those from India arrived at the

¹ See p. 20 above.

² Schlegel, op. cit., p. 38.

³ Luce, op. cit., p. 156.

⁴ Pelliot, op. cit., p. 263, footnote 1.

⁵ Han Wai-toon, op. cit., p. 21.

Peninsula, and vice versa. The resulting need to store merchandise from season to season led to the rise of a succession of trading centres where the sea-route rounded the Peninsula. In the Ptolemaic *Geography* just such an entrepôt is represented by the *emporion* of *Sabara*, and Mr. Han envisages *Tun-sun* as performing a similar function in the third century A.D. He also claims to have identified a settlement of this nature some dozen miles inside the estuary of the Johore River, at the modern village of Johore Lama, which he uncompromisingly identifies as the old capital of *Tun-sun*. As evidence of the antiquity of this settlement he adduces coarse pottery sherds, stamped with formal designs, which are found superficially on this site, mixed with Ming blue-and-white ware. On the strength of the resemblance of these sherds to pottery excavated at Han-period kilns in the Than-hoa province of Annam, Mr. Han and Dr. H. G. Q. Wales¹ ascribe this stamped ware to the early years of the Christian era. But similar stamped designs are also to be found on pottery manufactured in Perlis in the nineteen-twenties, and I consider that the antiquity of these coarse sherds is by no means proven. On two expeditions to Johore Lama I have failed completely to find evidence supporting the antiquity claimed by Mr. Han and Dr. Wales, and certainly no indication that here was, indeed, the flourishing capital of *Tun-sun*.²

Sir Roland Braddell compromised between these two interpretations and concluded that: "Tun-sun must have been a generic name for the Malay Peninsula." "There is nothing," he added, "to show whether this town [the capital, vide *Liáng shu*, p. 17 above] was in the north or the south of the Peninsula. . . ."³ On the evidence he had collected this was a reasonable conclusion, but Braddell admitted that he had not seen the account of Bodhibhadra's voyage as related in the *Lo yang chia lan chí* (p. 24 above). This states clearly that *Sun-tien* (= *Tien-sun* = *Tun-sun*) was some thirty days' sail from *Fu-nan* and eleven days northwards from *Kou-chih* (勾稚). I have elsewhere shown that *Kou-chih* was the

¹ H. G. Q. Wales, "Archæological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 18, pt. 1 (1940), pp. 61-3.

² The results of these expeditions are summarized by G. de G. Sieveking, P. Wheatley, and C. A. Gibson-Hill in "The Investigations at Johore Lama", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 27, pt. 1 (Singapore, 1954), pp. 224-233.

³ Braddell, *Ancient Times*, vol. 17, pt. 1 (1939), p. 201.

place which is better known as *Chü-li* (拘利), the name under which it occurs in the *Liang shu*, the *Shui ching chu*, and the *T'ai p'ing yü lan*.¹ This kingdom was in turn known to the west as *Kole polis*, and I have demonstrated that this town was almost certainly situated on the estuary of the Kuantan River. We do not know Bodhibhadra's precise landfall on the coast of *Fu-nan*, but it does seem that *Tun-sun* was rather less than one-quarter of the distance (i.e. eleven days' sailing) from *Chü-li* to *Fu-nan*. In any case this formula places *Tun-sun* on the isthmus rather than on the Peninsula proper, a location wholly in accord with the *Liang shu* notice which describes it as "lying on an ocean stepping-stone", that is, a place where one crosses from one sea to another. This, together with the fact that *Tun-sun* was in communication with countries beyond both the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea, and that traders came from both east and west, surely implies that the country occupied the whole breadth of the isthmus. Moreover, as the territory of *Tun-sun* was 1,000 *li* in extent, it would have included a considerable length of coastline.

There is one obvious discrepancy in the description of the country as set forth in the *Liang shu*. In one sentence we are told that "the land is 1,000 *li* in extent" (地方千里), but a few columns later we find that "it curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 *li*" (頓遜迴入海中千餘里). This last sentence has led at least one investigator to believe that part of the state bordered the northern shores of the Gulf of Siam,² but we know that this region was already occupied by the kingdom of *Chin-lin* (金隣國).³ It seems more likely that when the annalist wrote 頓遜迴 he was unconsciously using the part for the whole and referring to the Peninsula rather than to the country of *Tun-sun* itself. The capital we know to have been some ten *li* inland, whence we may infer with safety that it was on some river.

The fact that *Tun-sun* was itself partitioned among five monarchs implies that some higher form of political organization than that of a simple tribal society was developing on the Peninsula, while the *Liang shu* and the *Nan chou i yü chih* both state expressly that, as a result of Fan-man's conquests, *Tun-sun* acknowledged the

¹ P. Wheatley, "An Early Chinese Reference to Part of Malaya," *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 5 (Singapore, 1955), pp. 57-60.

² e.g. L. P. Briggs, "The Khmer Empire and the Malay Peninsula," *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (Ithaca, 1950), p. 259.

³ p. 20 above.

suzerainty of *Fu-nan*. But whatever the political condition of *Tun-sun*, there is no doubt that we have in the *Fu-nan chi* (p. 21 above) one of the earliest explicit accounts of the diffusion of Indian cultural influences in South-East Asia. A considerable number of Brahmans had established themselves in the country and possibly a colony of Indian traders. There is also an obscure reference to Buddhist influence. But the most important feature of this description is the mention of unions between Indians and indigenous women. The development of the Hinduized states of South-East Asia presupposes that such intermingling of Indians and local groups did occur, but this is the only contemporary mention of the process in operation. It is noteworthy, too, that the local people at least professed to follow the teaching of the Brahmans.

The Chinese historians also insist on the prevalence of *huo hsiang* (= *malabathron* = patchouli) and Laufer has drawn attention to an interesting point in connection with this plant.¹ In the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, an account of the trade of the Indian Ocean probably compiled about the year A.D. 100,² there occurs a description of a *malabathron* mart on the borders of China and India:—

“Each year a tribe of men with short bodies and broad, flat faces, and of a peaceable disposition, gather on the borders of the land of *This*. They are known as *Besata*, and are almost wholly uncivilized. Accompanied by their wives and children, and carrying large packs and plaited baskets of what look like green vine-leaves, they assemble at a place between their own country and the land of *This*. There they spread out the baskets under themselves as mats and feast for several days, after which they return to their own country in the interior. Then the local inhabitants, who have been watching them, come and collect their mats, and pick out from the fibres the strands which they call *petroi*. They arrange the leaves close together in several layers and roll them into balls, which they transfix with fibres from the mats. There are three sorts: those made from the largest leaves are called large-ball *malabathron*; those from the smaller are called medium-ball *malabathron*, and those of the smallest, the

¹ Laufer, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9 and 39-40.

² For the dating of some of the Indian sections of this work see J. A. B. Palmer, “*Periplus Maris Erythraei: the Indian Evidence as to the Date*,” *Classical Quarterly*, vol. 41 (London, 1947), pp. 136-141.

small-ball malabathron. There are thus three sorts of malabathron. It is imported into India by those folk who prepare it."¹

These *Besatæ* have usually been compared with the Ptolemaic *Sæsadi*, who are also described as shaggy dwarfs with large faces and white skins.

Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Ἰμάου ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Βηπύρον ὄρους Τακοράιοι μὲν εἰσιν ἀρκτικώτεροι, Κορανδάκαλοι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦς, εἴτα Πασσάδαι μεθ' οὓς ὑπὲρ τὸν Μαίανδρον Πιλάδαι· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτως τοὺς Σηασάδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ κολοβοὶ καὶ δασεῖς καὶ πλατυπρόσωποι, λευκοὶ δὲ τὰς χροάς.²

These same people are also without doubt the debilitated tribes mentioned by the Pseudo-Callisthenes in a quotation from Scholastikos of Thebes³ :—

"When I noticed that Indians used to arrive from *Axum* in small boats to trade, I attempted to penetrate further and arrived among the pepper-gathering *Bisades*. They are a very small and debilitated people, who live in rock-shelters. By reason of the configuration of their country they are adept at climbing steep crags, so that they can collect pepper from the tree. This, according to Scholastikos, is a small shrub: The *Bisades* are a rachitic and deformed people with large heads. They are unshaven and have lank hair."

It is indeed an attractive hypothesis to see some connection between the *malabathron*-producing countries of the Greek texts and the sources of *huo-hsiang* mentioned by the Chinese historians, but

¹ Translated from the text of H. Frisk, "Le Périphe de la Mer Erythrée," *Högskolas Årsskrift*, vol. 33 (Göteborg, 1927), pp. i-ix, 1-145.

² From the text of L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée: L'Inde, VII* (Paris, 1925), p. 52.

³ From the text of C. Müller, *Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Paris, 1840). St. Ambrose also prepared a Latin version of this passage :—

... ut narrabat Scholasticus; et quod de Aethiopiae et Persiae finibus et Auxumitarum locis ibi mercatores emendi, vendendi permutandaeque rei gratia conveniunt; et quod piper ibi nascitur, in magna colligitur copia. Ipsa autem admodum parva et inutilis gens est, quae intra speluncas saxaeas vivit, et per praecipitia magna discurrere natura patriae edocta consuevit. Piper autem cum ramusculis suis colligitur: ipsas autem arbores quasi quasdam humiles ac parvulas stirpes esse dicebat. Nam et ipsos exigues homunculos esse, et grandia quaedam capita asserit habere cum laevibus et detonsis capillis. (From the text of J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Paris, 1844.)

all such theories can only be speculative. Neither the *Periplus* nor the *Geography* allude to the ethnographic details described in the *T'ai p'ing yü lan* and the *T'ung tien*.

IBN AL-SAMḤ *

By S. M. STERN

(PLATES I AND II)

YAḤYĀ B. 'ADĪ played an important role in the history of Aristotelian studies in Islam. By his extensive activity as translator, as textual critic, and as interpreter, he gave a new impetus to the study of Aristotle. He can clearly be recognized as the head of a distinct school of philosophers, and his influence remained discernible for several generations, especially in the school's tradition of Aristotelian interpretation.

Most of the Aristotelian teaching of Yaḥyā has come down to us in the form transmitted by two pupils of his, Abu'l-Khayr b. al-Khammār and Abū 'Alī b. al-SamḤ. It is the second with whom we are concerned here.¹ Two manuscripts—one containing the Physics, the other the Rhetoric of Aristotle—are the documents attesting his share in transmitting the Aristotelian teaching of his master, Yaḥyā b. 'Adī.

Before examining these manuscripts, it will be well to summarize what we know of Ibn al-SamḤ from other sources. Unfortunately the original sources are few, while at present days the name of this scholar, who will now take his place in the chain of those who handed down the tradition of Greek philosophy in Islamic lands, has fallen into almost complete oblivion.²

A brief mention of him is made by Ibn al-Qifṭī (pp. 411-12): "Abū 'Alī b. al-SamḤ the logician (*al-mantiqī*) of 'Irāq. He excelled in the art of logic, which he also taught; people were eager to benefit by his teaching. He commented on the difficult parts of this

* Dedicated to Dr. S. van den Bergh for his seventieth birthday.

¹ For Abu'l-Khayr b. al-Khammār, cf. R. Walzer, in *Oriens*, 1953, 91 ff., *passim*.

² D. S. Margoliouth, *On the Arabic version of Aristotle's Rhetoric*, *Semitic Studies in memory of Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, 376: "Ibn SamḤ is certainly the celebrated logician of Baghdad, to whom the poet Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri alludes in a verse of his *Luzūmiyyāt* (Eg. ed. p. 235), and whose floruit may be put about A.H. 300 or A.D. 900." J. Schacht and M. Meyerhof, *The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Riḡwān of Cairo*, 63: "Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samah," and note 19: "This is probably Abu'l-Qāsim Asbagh b. Muḥammad b. al-Samah, famous Hispano-Arabic mathematician and astronomer; d. in his birthplace, Granada, in 426/1035 (*IAU.*, ii, 39 foll.; Brockelmann, i, 472; Suter, 85; Sarton, i, 715)." Kh. Georr postulated for Ibn al-SamḤ a date anterior to 209/824 (cf. below, section (ii)). It was only in the catalogue of de Jong and de Goeje that he has been correctly dated, at least implicitly: as the teacher of al-Baṣrī who died in 436/1044 (cf. below, p. 38, note 1).

science, composing good commentaries on the books of Aristotle which were widely copied, became famous and had great influence among students. He died in Jumādā II, 418 (July–August, 1027)."

Ibn al-Samḥ is mentioned twice by his contemporary Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī in his *al-Muqābasāt*. (i) The third chapter (ed. al-Sandūbī, 139) begins as follows: "One day a conversation on ethics took place in the house of Ibn Sa'dān. The company present included 'Isā, Naẓīf al-Rūmī, Ibn al-Samḥ, and other *shaykhs* of the Christians.¹ All these were eager students of philosophy and held in great affection those who occupied themselves with it . . ." (ii) The second passage, from the beginning of the seventeenth *muqābasa* (p. 160), shows us the two main disciples of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī in the company of each other: "Ibn Suwār [i.e. Ibn al-Khammār] was asked in the shop² of Ibn al-Samḥ in Bāb al-Ṭāq³ . . ."

We learn from the first passage that Ibn al-Samḥ was a Christian; the same is implied in the line of Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, to which Margoliouth has called attention (cf. above, p. 31, note 2). Illustrating his thesis that the world treats in the same manner noble and low, he says (*Luzūmiyyāt*, Cairo, 1891, i, 235):—

*Wa-aṣḥābu'l-Sharīfi wa-lā tasāwin ka-aṣḥābi'bni Zur'ata wa'bni
Samḥi*

"Though there is no comparison between them, the companions of the Sharīf are like the companions of Ibn Zur'a and Ibn (al-)Samḥ". As the scholium, which goes back to Abu'l-'Alā' himself,⁴ explains, by "Sharīf" is meant the great theologian al-Murtaḍā, while "Ibn Samḥ and Ibn Zur'a are Christians belonging to the people of logic".

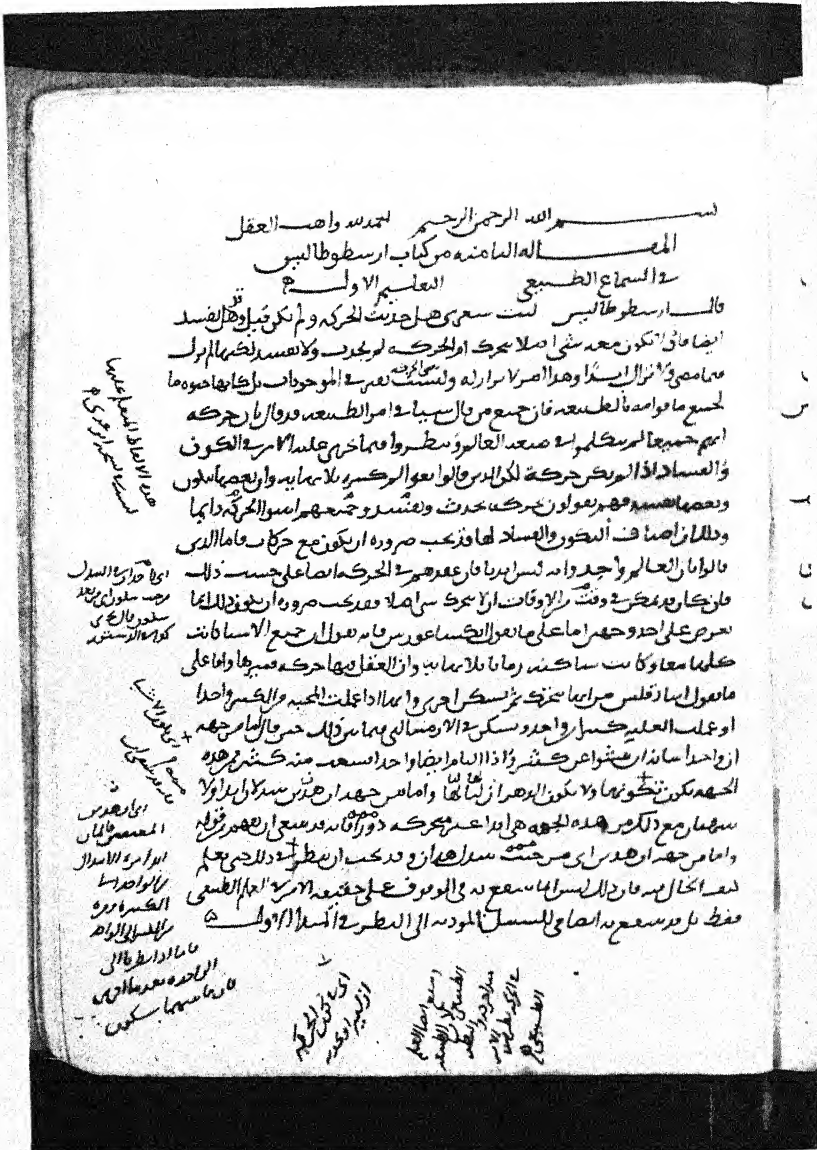
Ibn al-Khammār and Ibn al-Samḥ also appear together in an utterance of Ibn Sīnā quoted in a letter by a disciple of his (*al-Mubāḥathāt*, MS. Oxford 456, Leiden 864; not in the edition

¹ Corrected according to the excellent Leiden manuscript, no. 1443; the text of the very bad edition reads: "'Isā b. Thaḳīf al-Rūmī Abu'l-Samḥ and other *shaykhs* of the Christians."

² Read with the Leiden manuscript: *fī dukkān b. al-Samḥ* (ed.: *wa-kān b. al-Samḥ*). According to this passage, Ibn al-Samḥ probably earned his livelihood as a bookseller.

³ Cf. G. Le Strange, *Baghdād in the days of the Caliphate*, 178, 218.

⁴ I shall show on another occasion that this, as well as other scholia in the printed edition, go back to Abu'l-'Alā'.



Physics, beginning of Book viii (fol. 205r).

of 'A. Badawī, *Aristū 'ind al-'Arab*).¹ Ibn Sīnā deals with the philosophers of Baghdād in a spirit of virulent sarcasm. In order to taunt the unfortunate butts of his devastating attack, Abu'l-Faraj b. al-Ṭayyib and an unnamed companion, he is even ready to grant some words of condescending praise to the main representatives of the Baghdād school one generation before—not that they had much reason to be grateful for the doubtful compliment: "Abu'l-Khayr b. al-Khammār and Ibn al-Samḥ, in spite of their limited capacity, were better than these, as far as their application to this or that little corner of this or that book was concerned . . ."

This is not the place to inquire into the reasons of Ibn Sīnā's contempt for the Baghdād philosophers, a sentiment expressed by him on every possible occasion.² At any rate, in his own way—and it is possible that Ibn Sīnā was not quite wrong in saying: his "limited" way—Ibn al-Samḥ was quite creditable a scholar—as the remnants of his scientific activity clearly show.³

(i) ARISTOTLE'S PHYSICS AS INTERPRETED BY IBN AL-SAMḤ AND HIS DISCIPLE ABU'L-ḤUSAYN (OR ABU'L-ḤASAN) AL-BAṢRĪ

The precious manuscript, which is our main source for the Arabic translation of the Physics and the only one for its traditional exegesis in the school of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, belongs to the University Library in Leiden. It bears the number 583 Warn. and is described in the Catalogue of the library (by P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje, 1865), iii, 310 ff. (The cataloguers made some valuable observations about the identity of al-Baṣrī, quoting Ibn Khallikān—cf. below—and about the possible identity of the commentary with that mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfa—see note 3.)

¹ See now, for some more details, the *Appendice* in S. Pines, *La "Philosophie orientale" d'Avicenne et sa polémique contre les Bagdadiens*, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 1953, 35 ff.

² See now the article of Pines quoted in the preceding note. (The present article was finished before the appearance of Pines' study.)

³ Ibn al-Samḥ is mentioned by Ibn Buṭlān among the representatives of the sciences of the ancients who—as well as other learned men—died within the space of some ten years (quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 242, translated by Schacht and Meyerhof in the passage quoted in p. 31, note 2). A compendious commentary of Ibn al-Samḥ on the Physics of Aristotle is mentioned by Ḥājjī Khalīfa, s.v. *Sam' al-Kiyān* (*wa-li'bn al-Samḥ 'alā ḥadha'l-kitāb sharḥ ka'l-jawāmi'*); it is possible that the reference is to the commentary which forms the subject of the next section of the present article. (This is also assumed by de Jong and de Goeje in their description of the Leiden manuscript.)

The scribe of the manuscript—about whom the cataloguers offer no comment when reproducing the colophon where his name figures as: *Abu'l-Ḥakam kātibuhā* “Abu'l-Ḥakam its scribe”—can be identified as a man of some fame. At the end of book v (fol. 150 r) he gives a fuller form of his name: *wa-kataba Abu'l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī¹ li-nafsih* “Abu'l-Ḥakam the Maghribī wrote it for his own use”. In view of this fuller form of the name and the date 524/1129–1130 in which the manuscript was written, there can be hardly any doubt that the scribe is identifiable with the physician and poet Abu'l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī, about whom the biographers, both those of physicians (Ibn al-Qiftī, 404; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, ii, 144 ff.) and of men of letters ('Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr*, MS. Paris 3329, fol. 121r ff.; Ibn Khallikān, no. 332; al-Maqqarī, i, 548, 898) have many details to tell.²

Abu'l-Ḥakam 'Ubayd Allāh³ b. al-Muzaḥḥār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bāhili, surnamed Tāj al-Ḥukamā', was of a family originally of Almeria,⁴ though he himself was born in the Yaman in 486/1093–4. He emigrated to 'Irāq—from the account of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a one would infer via Damascus, but the passage in question is not conclusive. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a quotes some verses composed in Baṣra in 521/1127–8. In 'Irāq he entered the service of al-'Azīz ('Azīz al-Dīn) Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Ḥamid b. Muḥammad b. Āluḥ⁵ al-Iṣfahānī. This person, an uncle of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, is well known in contemporary history. (A biographical notice in Ibn Khallikān, no. 76; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, x, 433.) He was a financial administrator (*mustawfī*) of the Saljūq sultan Maḥmūd. In 525/1130–1 he was arrested, transported to Takrīt, and killed there the following year (Ibn Khallikān and Ibn al-Athīr, x, 471, 480). Abu'l-Ḥakam was put by the *mustawfī* in charge of the travelling hospital of the army, which used to be carried by forty camels. A colleague of his in that employment was Sadīd al-Dīn Abu'l-Wafā' b. al-Murakhkham, who became, under the caliphate of al-Muqtafi (530–555/1136–1160), Chief *Qādī* of Baghdad. “When misfortunes befell al-'Azīz”—says Ibn al-Qiftī, alluding to the fall

¹ There are no points, but there can, of course, be no doubt about the reading.

² Cf. Brockelmann, i, 321, where only Ibn Khallikān and al-Maqqarī are quoted.

³ Correct “'Abd Allāh” in the edition of Ibn al-Qiftī.

⁴ Correct “al-Mursī” in the edition of Ibn al-Qiftī.

⁵ So Ibn Khallikān, who gives the etymology of the name: Persian *ālūh* “eagle”; the spelling in the edition of Ibn al-Qiftī is to be corrected accordingly (Āl instead of Āl).

of the *mustawfī* in 525/1130-1—"Abu'l-Ḥakam was disgusted with 'Irāq and left it, proposing to go to the Maghrib." Pleased, however, with the cheapness of life in Damascus, he settled there. He died in that city on the 4th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 549/10th of January, 1155.

Abu'l-Ḥakam, who according to the words of a historian quoted by Ibn Khallikān "united in himself literature and science (*ḥikma*)", was notorious as a gay fellow. The biographers quote many verses from his *ḏiẓwān*, mainly consisting of humorous poetry, to illustrate his exuberant spirits. A favourite trick of his was, for instance, to compose dirges, as often as not in a licentious style, on persons still alive.

From our manuscript, however, as well as from the assurances of the biographers, we see that his proclivity for frivolous verse did not exclude a deep interest in serious scientific study. As a matter of fact, the accurate care with which he copied the manuscript of the Physics, diligently and painstakingly transcribing the various matters contained in his original, and noting all the particularities of his original, bears witness to exact and conscientious scholarship.

The notes at the end of the various books into which the Physics is divided allow us to follow the journeys of Abu'l-Ḥakam during the year 524/1129-1130—that is a year or so before his leaving 'Irāq for good. It was in course of these journeys that he busied himself with copying the manuscript, noting down at the end of each book where and when its copying was finished.

Omitting the customary eulogies, we read at the end of book i (fol. 15v): "It was finished in Khūzistān, in al-Qaṣr, on the 1st of Ṣafar, A.H. 524." At the end of book ii (fol. 32r): "It was finished in Jundaysābūr in Khūzistān, the 22nd of Ṣafar, A.H. 524"; book iii (fol. 53r): "It was finished in Rabi' I, in 'Askar Mukram"; book iv (fol. 113v): "It was finished in the end of Rajab, A.H. 524, in Baghdād"; book v (fol. 150r): "It was finished on the 20th of Sha'bān, 524, in Baghdād. Abu'l-Ḥakam al-Maghribī wrote it for his own use"; book vi (fol. 185r): "It has been checked with the original [praise be to God], in Shawwāl A.H. 524." The colophon at the end of book vii (fol. 240v) contains no date. At the end of the book (fol. 235v, the last page of the MS.): "It was finished on the 1st of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 524, in the City of Peace (i.e. Baghdād). . . . (hole in the MS.) wrote it for his own use."

So we follow Abu'l-Ḥakam on his journey (of whose purpose we

know nothing) from al-Qaṣr (Dizfūl) ¹ through Jundaysābūr ² and 'Askar Mukram ³ to Baghdād, industriously continuing his work. The same conscientious accuracy displayed in recording the data of his scribal activity recurs in the complete information given by him about the manuscript that served him as a model for his copy.

The antecedents of his copy are told in the long colophon at the end of book i, a small part of which has been quoted above. A translation of the full text will follow presently. It is, however, convenient to anticipate its contents by giving an account of the scholar from whose manuscript the copy of Abu'l-Ḥakam derives—not directly, but by one remove.

Abu'l-Ḥusayn (or Abu'l-Ḥasan ⁴) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī is known both from the biographical dictionaries and the works of the theologians. Biographical notes about him are to be found in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, iii, 100; Ibn Khallikān, no. 620; Ibn al-Qiftī, 293; Ibn Taghribirdī, v, 38; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, a. 436; Ḥājji Khalīfa, s.v. *al-Mu'tamad* ⁵; al-Bayhaqī, *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Masā'il*, ⁶ MS. Leiden Landberg 215, i, 130 (whence Ibn al-Murtaḍā, ed. Arnold, *The Mu'tazila*, 70). From these we see that Abu'l-Ḥusayn, who died on Tuesday, 5th Rabi' II, 436/30th October, 1044, in Baghdād, was a Mu'tazilite theologian of considerable importance and, in fact, his views are sometimes quoted by authors of dogmatical treatises (cf. A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, 193; a closer study would no doubt bring to light more references). It may be noted that his work on the principles of *fiqh*, *al-Mu'tamad*, mentioned as a classical work by the authors of the biographical notes on him, is still extant. A copy of volume ii is preserved in the library of the Grand Mosque in Ṣan'ā', founded by the late Imam Yaḥyā; see *Fihris Kutub al-Khizāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, Ṣan'ā', no date (about 1940), p. 131.

¹ Al-Qaṣr "Castle", is another name for Dizfūl (in Persian = "The Castle Bridge"), in full: Qaṣr al-Rūnash "Castle of al-Rūnash", see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. Dizfūl, and G. Le Strange, *The Eastern Lands of the Caliphate*, 238.

² Jundaysābūr was famous for its medical school during the Sasanid and early Islamic periods; see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v. Djundisābūr, and Le Strange, 238.

³ Important town, see *Enc. of Islam*, s.v., and Le Strange, 237.

⁴ Most of the biographical works seem to write Abu'l-Ḥusayn, while the manuscripts of the *al-Mu'tamad* write Abu'l-Ḥasan. As we shall see, Abu'l-Ḥakam also wrote Abu'l-Ḥasan. It is difficult—and not very important—to decide which is the correct form.

⁵ He gives 463 as the year of al-Baṣrī's death, which is a manifest error.

⁶ I hope to give more details about this important work, the main source of Ibn al-Murtaḍā for his treatment of dogmatics, on another occasion.

A *Mukhtaṣar* of the *al-Mu'tamad* of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ṭayyib, by Sulaymān b. Nāṣir b. Sa'id (said to be "a scholar of the sixth century") is to be found in the same library : see *Fihris*, p. 131. According to a report in *Islamic Culture*, 1947, 425, Dr. Hamidullah brought from Yaman a manuscript of "*Tajrīd al-Mu'tamad* by Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad Ibn 'Alīy al-Baṣrī"; this seems to be another abridgment of the book. Finally there is no doubt that our book is meant by "*K. al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*" by "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī" (read Muḥammad b. 'Alī), said to have died "463/1070" (read 436/1044), of which the second volume is to be found in the library of the Lāleli mosque, Istanbul, no. 788 (Brockelmann, *Supplement*, i, 669¹; the erroneous date is no doubt derived from Ḥājji Khalifa).

The interesting thing about this Mu'tazilite is that he had, according to various authors, strong leanings towards philosophy. "The followers of Abū Hāshim (this seems to mean the later Mu'tazilites in general) disliked him for two reasons : first, because he sullied himself with the doctrines of philosophy and the words of the ancients (*kalām al-awā'il*), secondly because he tried in his book to refute the heads of the school (*mashā'ikh*) and demolish their proofs" (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, after al-Bayhaqī). "He (viz. al-Baṣrī) in all his opinions follows the methods of the philosophers, refuting his Mu'tazilite masters, by examining their proofs, in a bad way" (al-Shahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-Iqdām* (Guillaume), 221). "He was a great expert in the sciences of the ancients (*ulūm al-awā'il*)"—says Ibn al-Qiftī, adding the interesting notice : "Out of fear of his contemporaries he did not dare to follow his study (of philosophy) openly, but published his views in the form customary among the *mutakallims* of the Muslim community. These compositions are well written ; whosoever examines his books will realize the truth of what I said." ² In view of all this we may assume that the physician Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī mentioned by Ibn Abi'l-Uṣaybi'a, ii, 240, as

¹ Brockelmann registers in another chapter al-Baṣrī as the author of the commentary on the Physics (i, 600, *Supplement*, i, 829, quoting the Leiden Catalogue, Ibn Khallikān, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, and Ibn al-Qiftī), without noticing the identity.

² The first and the third of these passages are quoted in I. Goldziher, *Stellung der alten Islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, *Abh. d. kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1916, 12. Goldziher did not seem to realize that both referred to the same person.

a contemporary of Abu'l-Faraj b. al-Tayyib, is the same man. Nor can there be much doubt about his identity with the disciple of Ibn al-SamḤ, the redactor of the notes on the Physics.¹

The colophon at the end of book i (Plate I) reads as follows (the greater part of the Arabic text is reproduced in the catalogue of de Jong and de Goeje) :—

Here ends the first book in the translation of Ishāq b. Hunayn, praise be to God. It has been finished in Khūzistān, in al-Qaṣr, the 1st of Ṣafar, A.H. 524

[On the left margin :]

It has been collated, praise be to God.

[On the right margin :]

It has been copied from the handwriting of the *shaykh*, may God have mercy on him, and collated with it.—Correct.

A note (*tadhkira*) in the hand of the *shaykh* Abu'l-Ḥasan, may God have mercy on him, in this place :—

I have finished copying and annotating in Ṣafar 395, may God bless the Prophet Muḥammad.

[On the left margin :]

The copy of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī has been collated with it.

Also in his hand, may God have mercy on him, on the title-page of the first and the second fascicle (*juṣ'*) :—

I have collated with the text (*faṣṣ*) of this volume the copy of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, about which he said that he had copied it from the original (*ḍustūr*) of Ishāq, checking it with the original three times, and collating it another time with the Syriac text. What is to be found in this fascicle in the way of correction and annotation on the margins signed with the mark *h*, is taken from the copy of Yaḥyā.

On the title-page of the first fascicle is also :—

The first fascicle of the Physics by Aristotle, in the translation of Ishāq b. Hunayn, read by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī with Abū 'Alī b. al-SamḤ, containing annotation taken down by him [al-Baṣrī] from his [Ibn al-SamḤ's] dictation.

¹ The identification was already made by de Jong and de Goeje in the Catalogue. They write: "(The books of the Physics) illustrati explicationibus et observationibus plurium virorum doctorum, quas collegit et redegit Abu-l-Ḥusayn M.b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī († 436, v. Ibn Khall., de Slane, p. 675) auspice magistro suo Abū 'Alī ibn al-SamḤ."

On the title-page of the second fascicle :—

The second [fascicle] of the *Physics* by Aristotle, in the translation of Ishāq b. Hunayn, containing annotation by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Samḥ, taken down from him by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Baṣrī.

On the title-page of the third [fascicle] he added :—

Also some of the words of Mattā.

On the title-page of the fourth [fascicle] he added :—

Also some of the words of Abū Bishr Mattā and the words of Yaḥyā.

On [the title page of] the fifth [fascicle] :—

Also some of the words of Yaḥyā and Abū Bishr Mattā.

Abu'l-Ḥakam : All this I have reproduced exactly as it was found in the copy that was copied from the original in al-Karkh, Jumādā II, 470. I have not changed anything except the date, according to the date of the present copy. There is no difference between the two, neither in the way of addition or omission. Who reads this copy, is as if he were reading that one, viz. my model, that had been copied from the original of the author.

That is to say, Abu'l-Ḥakam copied a manuscript from the year 470/1077, in turn copied, accurately it seems, from the original of al-Baṣrī. Thanks to the meticulous care of these successive scribes, we can form a detailed impression of al-Baṣrī's manuscript of 395/1004. We even know its division into fascicles. On fol. 11r we find the note : "This is the end of the first [fascicle] in his handwriting, may God have mercy upon him." This is, no doubt, a note by the scribe of the 470/1077 MS., attesting the end of the fascicle in the copy of al-Baṣrī. (The note on the margin : "It has been checked with the model," is also probably derived from the 470/1077 MS.) Similar notes about the ends of fascicles are to be found on fol. 18v (2nd), 28v (4th), 49r (5th), 58r (6th), 70v (7th), 82r (8th), 102v (10th), 117v (11th), 132r (12th). Notes about checking also on fol. 24v, 52v, 66v, 80v, 94v, 109v, 113v, 122v.

The manuscript contains the *Physics* of Aristotle in the translation of Ishāq b. Hunayn. The translation was copied by al-Baṣrī in the first instance no doubt from a manuscript of his master Ibn al-Samḥ. For the collation al-Baṣrī had, however, access to a very valuable copy : Yaḥyā b. 'Adī's copy taken from the autograph of Ishāq and collated with the Syriac text. At least on one occasion (fol. 46v)

a variant from the translation of Qusṭā (b. Lūqā) is noted—we do not know if by Yaḥyā or by al-Baṣrī.

The commentary differs very much from that of the Paris manuscript of the Organon, which goes back to Abu'l-Khayr b. al-Khammār. Instead of the marginal scholia of the Paris manuscript, we have a full commentary following the text paragraph by paragraph. The commentary is based, as al-Baṣrī himself says on the title-pages of his copy, on notes taken during the lecture-course of Ibn al-SamḤ. In addition to material by Ibn al-SamḤ he incorporated notes by Abū Bishr Mattā and by Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, but there is no way of telling whether he took these notes from the lectures of Ibn al-SamḤ, or directly from commentaries or scholia by Mattā and Yaḥyā.

The paragraphs of the text are introduced by the lemma: *Qāla Aristūṭālīs* "Aristotle says", the comments in the majority of cases by: *Qāla Abū 'Alī*, or by the simple heading: *Abū 'Alī*. In addition to these notes by Abū 'Alī b. al-SamḤ there are the notes by the earlier authorities, as has been said above, introduced by the words: *Qāla Yaḥyā*, or *Yaḥyā*, or *Qāla Yaḥyū b. 'Adī*, or *Ibn 'Adī* (*Qāla* is again often omitted); and much less frequently: *Abū Bishr*. Of the Greek commentators direct quotations occur from al-Iskandar, i.e. Alexander of Aphrodisias, while occasional references to the opinion of Themistius are, if I am not mistaken, not in the form of direct quotation. The personality of the compiler, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, too, appears sometimes in the commentary: there are passages where he introduces himself with words like: "I said to Abū 'Alī" (fol. 67v), etc.

There is, however, one considerable portion of the commentary where the copyist of 470/1077 does not seem to have followed al-Baṣrī's manuscript of 395/1004. From the middle of the seventh book to the end, the overwhelming majority of the comments are under the heading: *Qāla Ibn al-Ṭayyib*. This is doubtless no other than Abu'l-Faraj b. al-Ṭayyib, mentioned above, p. 33. (Cf. for him Brockelmann, i, 635; G. Graf, *Gesch. d. Christl.-Arab. Lit.*, ii, 160 ff.) Himself a pupil of Ibn al-Khammār, he was a physician, philosopher, and writer on Christian (Nestorian) theology. Since it is highly improbable that al-Baṣrī himself should have quoted in this part a younger contemporary instead of his master Ibn al-SamḤ, it seems evident that the copyist of 470/1077 did not have at his disposal the end of the commentary of al-Baṣrī, either because it

was never finished or because the end was lost. For the end of the Physics he supplied the missing commentary from notes by Abu'l-Faraj b. al-Tayyib, adding, no doubt, some words of explanation to this effect, which were, however, somehow overlooked by Abu'l-Ḥakam.

(ii) ARISTOTLE'S RHETORIC, FROM THE COPY OF IBN AL-SAMḤ

A copy of the translation of the Rhetoric, the only one known, is extant in the famous Paris manuscript of the Arabic Organon, no. 2346 (ancient fonds 882A). In reality, the part containing the Rhetoric does not originally belong to the manuscript. It was originally an independent volume, but has been bound into the beginning of the volume in which it now appears.

The manuscript has been described, at greater or lesser detail, several times, notably by D. S. Margoliouth (cf. above, p. 31, note 2), Kh. Georr (*Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leur versions syro-arabes*, 186 ff.) and 'A. Badawī (*Manṭiq Aristū*, i, 20). The description of the first-named scholar¹ is too short and his identification of the date of Ibn al-SamḤ, as we have seen, quite off the mark. The second description is more detailed, but contains a number of impossibilities.² The third is mainly confined to an external description and does not enter into a discussion of the problems. As, fortunately, the truth

¹ I quote some of the relevant sentences. "The name of the translator is not given; but a number of subscriptions tell us something of the history of the book. It was written in the year of Alex. 1339, agreeing with A.D. 1016 [?!; the year of Alexander 1339 corresponds to A.H. 418, A.D. 1027 !], and collated in the year of the Hijra 418 (A.D. 1027) . . . On fol. 18b . . . a marginal note by Ibn SamḤ himself is quoted . . . A further subscription states that the Paris MS. has been collated with one in the hand of Abu'l-'Abbās. It will be seen that the Arabic MS. is of the early eleventh century . . . the MSS. of which it was a copy were doubtless much earlier." Follows the surmise about Ibn al-SamḤ's date ("about 300/900") quoted above, p. 31, note 2.

² Georr thinks that the manuscript is in the hand of Ibn al-SamḤ and reading the date in the note about the collation as 209/824 thinks that the manuscript, and Ibn al-SamḤ, must be earlier than that date. He then refers the date 320/932 in the note about Abu'l-'Abbās to a second collation, and concludes: "La date de 1027, doit être considérée donc comme étant celle d'une troisième collation, et non celle de notre copie, comme l'ont supposé tous ceux qui ont examiné le manuscrit. (Tkatsch [*Die arabische Uebersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*], i, 141, donne [evidently following Margoliouth]: 1016 pour la copie et 1027 pour la collation.) Le texte de la *Rhétorique* doit donc remonter au début du IX s., ce qui infirme la déclaration de Margoliouth [*Analecta Orientalia*, 14]: "*Tamen nullum fasciculum saec. XI initio recentiores esse manus et charta arguunt.*" N.B.—In the sentence (p. 189, lines 3–4) "en l'année 1309 d'Alexandre (1027)", 1309 is merely a printer's error for 1339.

can be established easily, at least as far as the main fact is concerned, a detailed analysis of the errors of the first two descriptions is superfluous and we can immediately come to the examination of the colophon. It indisputably shows that the manuscript was copied from that of Ibn al-SamḤ. Being sufficiently acquainted with Ibn al-SamḤ from the preceding sections, we are able to avoid conclusions which would place the manuscript in the beginning of the third/ninth century.

The colophon at the end of the last book, book iii (fol. 65v), reads in translation as follows.¹

This copy is from the autograph of Ibn al-SamḤ. At the end of the fascicle, the following is to be found, also in his handwriting.²

This book is not very useful and has not often been studied, therefore one does not find a correct copy or a person interested in its correction. I have found a very bad copy in Arabic and another one less corrupted and have relied in copying this on the second copy. Whenever I found a fault in the second copy I collated it with the other one; if I found it correct, I adopted its reading, if I found it also faulty, I took recourse to a copy in Syriac. If I found there a correct reading, I put it on the margin. If it, too, was faulty, I wrote down the text faulty as it was and made on the line a sign like this: S. I have checked this copy and made an effort lest (?) mistakes should occur during the checking. Notice should be taken of all this, if God will, praise to God Who is worthy of it. [Follow some indistinct words.]

The following lines are in a very bad state. What I can read, or I think I can read, is: في [hole] . . . ظفر بن منصور بن . . . التاريخ وهي سنة الف ثلثائة وتسع وثلثين للاسكندر³ في التاريخ الذي سنته ثمانى عشر واربع مائة هجرة سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

¹ For the Arabic text of the notes see on the whole Georr. I have examined the manuscript in Paris some years ago and some of the following remarks are based on notes taken at that time. I have before me a photograph of the colophon, but owing to its condition the photograph is very indistinct and practically useless. For this reason I have not added a reproduction of the photograph to the present article.

² *Hādhihi'l-nuskhā min khaṭṭ Ibn al-SamḤ fī ākhir al-juz' bi-khaṭṭih aydā*. This is wrongly translated by Georr as: "Cette copie est de la main de Ibn al-SamḤ; la fin de l'Opuscule est également de sa main."

³ On the margin here: بلغت مقابلة "Reached checking". These words were in

The scribe's name would be, then, Zafar (or Zāfir) b. al-Manṣūr, or something similar. He was, as the last phrase clearly shows, a Muslim. He copied the manuscript in the year 418/1027 (= 1339 of Alexander), the year Ibn al-Samḥ died (in Jumādā II).¹

It is difficult to decide whether the manuscript was written while Ibn al-Samḥ was still alive, or after his death (in the latter case, a few months after his death). In the one hand, the pious formula usually put after the name of a deceased person is missing. (I wonder if this could be explained by a religious scruple of the Muslim scribe, Ibn al-Samḥ being a Christian.) On the other hand, no honorific title or good wish ("may God prolong his days", for instance) accompanies the mention of Ibn al-Samḥ's name.

On the left margin we have a note: "This is checked with the copy in the handwriting of Abū 'Alī b. al-Samḥ and corrected accordingly, in the year . . ." ² I cannot read the year; one should expect 418, but it is unlikely that this is what is written there (Georr reads 209!).³

High up the left margin, before the colophon, there is a note, the beginning of which is difficult to read. "... this copy from a copy in the hand of Abū'l-'Abbās with as great care as possible in the year 320." This seems to be the reproduction of a note in the original manuscript of Ibn al-Samḥ, in which he indicated the provenience of the manuscript from which he derived his copy. I cannot say who this Abū'l-'Abbās could be.

In the year 509/1115 the manuscript was in the possession of a certain 'Abd Allāh b. 'Isā,⁴ as attested by another note. The text

the previous descriptions mistakenly joined with the following line, and the date mentioned in this line was therefore taken as referring to a collation. In reality the line continues the previous line and the date refers to the copying.

¹ Dr. G. Vajda, Paris, kindly re-examined the colophon at my request. He writes: "Avant *ألف* je crois lire *الشيخ*" (if so, Zafar cannot be the name of the scribe).

² *Balaghat al-muqābala min al-nuskhā allatī bi-khaṭṭ Abī 'Alī b. al-Samḥ*, wrongly translated by Georr as: Fin de la collation de cette copie exécutée par Abū 'Alī ibn al-Samḥ.

³ Dr. G. Vajda writes: "Vous hésitez pour la lecture de la date à la fin de la marque de collation sur la marge gauche. Je ne puis résoudre le problème, car j'y vois: . . . *وماسي* (ou *سبع*)" So the riddle remains.

⁴ Georr, p. 189: "Ce texte se trouvait en 509/1115 au Caire, dans la bibliothèque d'un certain 'Abdallāh ibn-'Isā سنة تسعاً [sic] القاهرة *عيسى بن عيسى* ملك عبد الله بن عيسى وخمسة". The note is longer and consists of four lines. As far as I can see on the photograph, line 1 (*ملك عبد الله بن عيسى*) is correctly given by Georr. Lines 2-3 I cannot make out on the photograph at all. Line 4 I read: *بنغداد (?) سنة تسع*

وخمسة

of the middle part of the note is difficult to read. Another note says that a certain Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī al-Yūsufī read the manuscript. Still another reader is named in another note, but his name is uncertain.

Unfortunately, owing to the extremely bad state of the past page, some details are left uncertain, as it can be seen from the preceding. Perhaps an examination of the page in the laboratory and a specially prepared photograph could solve some of the remaining problems. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the manuscript was copied from Ibn al-Samḥ's copy. This is entirely born out by a marginal note on fol. 18v which starts: "Marginal note in the hand of Ibn al-Samḥ: . . ." (see the full text, dealing with a textual problem, in Georr, p. 186). Obviously, the copyist was reproducing a note which he found in his model, in the handwriting of Ibn al-Samḥ. (Georr's conclusion: "cette partie a été exécutée par Ibn al-Samḥ, ainsi que le mentionne une note marginale du feuillet 18v," is, of course, erroneous.) In spite of the remaining uncertainties, the correct relation of the manuscript to Ibn al-Samḥ can be established in a satisfactory manner; and this is what is relevant to the subject of this article.

THE KĀRIMĪ MERCHANTS

BY E. ASHTOR

THE IMPORTANT RÔLE which the Kārimī merchants played in Oriental trade at the end of the Middle Ages has been touched upon by some outstanding orientalist. The last to treat the subject exhaustively was W. J. Fischel in his paper "Über die Gruppe der Kārimī-Kaufleute", published in 1937 in the series *Analecta Orientalia* (of the Pontifical Bible Institute) no. 14. The Arabic historical works of the later Middle Ages contain, however, additional material, which partly corroborates and partly modifies Fischel's conclusions. A good many of the notices on the Kārimīs to be quoted in this paper are taken from the hitherto unpublished chronicle *Inbā' al-ghumr bi-abnā al-'umr* of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 1449), MS. Constantinople, Yeni Cami 814 and the *Who's Who* of the fifteenth century composed by al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497) and called *ad-Ḍaw' al-lāmi' fī a'yān al-qarn al-tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353-55).

I

Fischel compiled a list of fourteen Kārimīs. Adhering to his method of listing only those who are called Kārimī *expressis verbis* (although we may be sure that many other merchants whose biographies are contained in the Arabic historical literature belonged to the Kārimīs too) we should add the following :—

(1) Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Ruhā'ilī (الرحانلي), not vocalized in the printed text, means surely "the man of al-Ruhā'", a town which belonged to Syria during that period, although its population certainly spoke Turkish. This explains the Turkish suffix "lī"). Tāj al-Dīn, who died in 1331, was, according to Ibn Kathīr (*al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, 14, p. 156), the greatest Kārimī of Damascus and Cairo. The Damascene chronicler states that he was believed to have left 100,000 dīnārs in cash, besides goods, precious household effects, and real estates.

(2) Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bālīsī. Ibn Ḥajar (op. cit. f. 18b), in the list of those deceased in A.H. 777, gives his genealogy as follows : Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yasīr al-Bālīnī. Both the genealogy and the spelling of the names are erroneous. As we read in a passage of Maqrīzī's *Khitaṭ* (see below), where the spelling is given, the name of the ancestor of

Shihāb al-Dīn was Basīr. In another passage of the *Inbā'*, quoted below, we read that this man was called al-Bālisī, i.e. hailing from the Syrian town of Bālis. It is the obituary notice of Shihāb al-Dīn's son Nūr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī, who died in A.H. 799 (1396-7). His genealogy is given as follows : Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Basīr al-Bālisī. In this passage, as in the biographical notice on Shihāb al-Dīn himself, we read that his father or grandfather Muḥammad was a great merchant, but here we are told that his *laqab* was Shams al-Dīn and that he died in the year A.H. 773 (1371-2). (In another passage of Ibn Ḥajar's chronicle, f. 17a, we find that Shams al-Dīn died in A.H. 768 = 1366-7.) This remark, which is supported by Maqrīzī (see below), proves that the great merchant was Shihāb al-Dīn's father and not the son of Basīr. The genealogy in his biography is incomplete, as Ibn Ḥajar jumped over some generations and mentioned, after Muḥammad, the ancestor of the family only. Ibn Ḥajar says that Shihāb al-Dīn was born to rich and esteemed parents, but did not show great efficiency in his enterprises. He died, still young, in 1376.

(3) Rashīd al-Habbī, whose full name was, according to a marginal note on a MS. leaf of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (ed. Zurayk, ix, pp. 419-20), Rashīd (al-Dīn) Sa'īd b. Naṣr al-Habbī. Both this chronicler and Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk* (MS. Paris, Slane 1727, s.a. A.H. 797), mention the exact date of his death, namely 13th March, 1395, without supplying us with further details.

(4) Khair al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā. Al-Sakhāwī relates (in *al-Daw' al-lāmi*, iii, p. 178), that he was a great merchant like his father. He lived with his father in Aden for a long time, later on went to Mecca and from there to Cairo. When the father died in A.H. 811 (1408-9), Khair al-Dīn returned to Mecca in order to settle there, but could not stand the extortions of the local authorities and had to go back to Cairo, where he died in 1417 or 1418. He is called *al-Rūmī al-tājir al-Kārimī* by a writer quoted by al-Sakhāwī (The printed text reads, indeed, "al-Kāzimī," but this is surely a mistake : الكازمى instead of الكارمى).

(5) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Māhūrī. Al-Sakhāwī (*al-Tibr al-masbūk*, p. 198) says that he belonged to the courtiers intimate with the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh, who ruled

from 1412 to 1419, and that he discharged the task of administrator of al-Azhar. Further he mentions that he possessed a building in the neighbourhood of this famous mosque. Muḥammad al-Māḥūrī died in Mecca.

(6) Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Suwaid al-Malikī. This jurisconsult was sometimes notary public and sometimes Kārimī merchant. Ibn Ḥajar (f. 225b), whose statements are supplemented by al-Sakhāwī (in his *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, ii, p. 101), relates that in A.H. 800 (1387-8) he received a sum of money which enabled him to engage in commercial enterprises with Yemen. He travelled backwards and forwards and became very rich. He died in 1425.

(7) Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī. Neither Ibn Ḥajar nor al-Sakhāwī mention in the biography of this merchant which trade he followed (see *Inbā'* f. 211b and *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92), but al-Sakhāwī calls him *al-khawāja al-kabīr al-tājir al-Kārimī* in the biography of his son Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (*al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, viii, p. 246).

(8) Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ulaiba of Alexandria. He died in 1484 (Ibn Iyās ed. Kahle, iii, p. 202, and *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, iii, pp. 90-1).

(9) Faraj Allāh al-Kārimī. This name is found in a Judeo-Arabic letter which was published in the Hebrew quarterly *Kiryath Sepher* (vol. 18, pp. 199 ff, p. 201). Unfortunately the date of the letter is incomplete, as the day and the month are given, but the year is omitted. The names mentioned in the letter leave no doubt that it was written in Egypt in the Mamluk period.

II

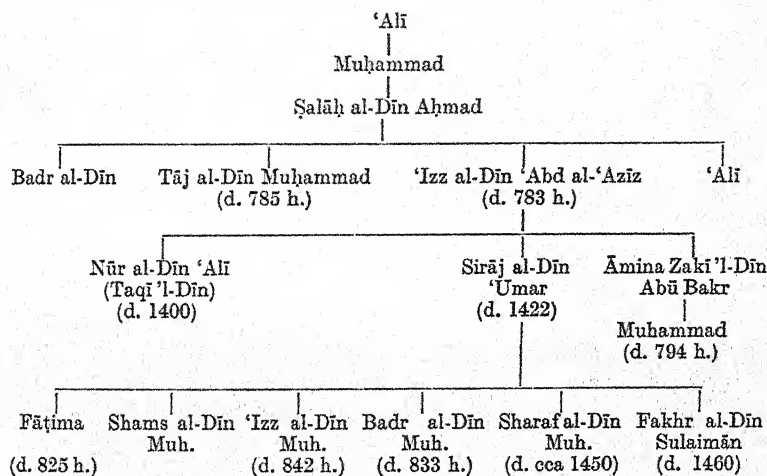
We gather from the sources that a good many of these wealthy merchants were parvenus. 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maṣṣūr began as a poor tailor. The two Kārimīs of the greatest renown made their fortune with their own hands. Ibn Ḥajar (f. 130b) says that Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī was the son of a poor man and became extremely rich. The Sultan himself charged him with the management of his commercial affairs. Zaki 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī belonged to a family of merchants, but he himself was in his youth poor until his uncle Badr al-Dīn died and he inherited from him a great sum (*Inbā'*, f. 53a; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhba, *al-I'tām*, MS. Paris, Slane 1599, f. 11b—who says, however, that Badr al-Dīn was his cousin). This heritage made it possible for him to engage

in great commercial undertakings. As Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī he became the "merchant of the Sultan" and we read in Arabic chronicles that he was the greatest of the Kārimīs (al-'Ainī, *Iqd al-jumān*, MS. Constantinople, Carullah 1591, f. 577b).

Parvenus of other periods and other countries did their utmost to better their social standing by contracting marriages with daughters of aristocratic families. Arabic sources show that the Kārimīs and other wealthy merchants of that time preferred intermarrying within their social group. This, however, is easy to understand. In the Mamluk society there was no real aristocracy of noble families who had held a privileged position during several generations. But trade on a large scale was monopolized by certain families. Among the Kārimīs listed by Fischel there are 'Abd al-Latīf b. Muḥammad b. Musnad al-Iskandarī and his son Yahyā who lived in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Of other families we also find two members: Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam and Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Musallam, Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Maḥallī and Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. 'Umar al-Maḥallī. Even of the family of the al-Kharrūbī Fischel listed two Kārimīs, Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr and Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Yet we read in *Khīṭat*, ii, p. 401, that Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam's mother was a daughter of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bālīsī, whose name we added to the list of the Kārimīs. Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Musallam too, is called al-Bālīsī. Again, the family of the Ibn Musallam was connected with the al-Kharrūbī by the marriage of a daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn. This we gather from the biography of Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī, an unhappy member of the Kārimī group, who several times inherited great sums, but had no success in his enterprises and left many debts when he died in 1422. According to *Inbā'* f. 211b, where his story is told, he married a daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam. (This is omitted in *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92, but mentioned in the biographies quoted below.) She gave birth to three of his sons: Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. A.H. 833 = 1429-30), Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. ca. 1450), and Fakhr al-Dīn Sulaimān (d. 1460) (*al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, iii, p. 267, viii, pp. 246-7). In Ibn Ḥajar's chronicle f. 109a we find the obituary notice of Taqī 'l-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who is qualified as *al-tājir al-Karīmī*. Hence we have learnt that this man was the brother of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-

'Aziz ('Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz had two *laqabs*, Nūr al-Dīn and Taqī 'l-Dīn, and this explains the mistake of Fischel who thought that two persons are spoken of, s. p. 69 and 71). The father of 'Umar and 'Alī, 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, who died in 783 A.H. (1381-2) (*Inbā'* f. 211b and cf. *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, vi, p. 92), was surely the brother of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, (s. *Khitaṭ*, ii, p. 368). This Tāj al-Dīn died in Mecca in A.H. 785 (1383-4) (*al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, loc. cit.). A third brother, 'Alī, was the father of the famous Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr (op. cit., v, p. 240). Zakī 'l-Dīn had a son Muḥammad, who was a rich man and died, still young, in 1392 (*Inbā'* f. 211b).

The following is a Genealogical table of the family al-Kharrūbī :—



The al-Maḥallī were also a family of rich merchants. A certain Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, who was the father-in-law of the Egyptian chief-judge 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī al-Tafahnī (d. 1432), is said to have been the greatest merchant of Egypt in his time (*al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, iv, pp. 98 ff). The father of Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm Ibn 'Ulaiba, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Munāwī (d. 1470), was an efficient merchant. His brother 'Abd al-Qādir was appointed by the Sultan his commercial agent in Alexandria. He died in 1485 (*al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, i, pp. 41-2, iv, pp. 259-60). These rich families built splendid houses on the shore of the Nile. It took seven years to build that of Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (*Khitaṭ*, ii, pp. 368-9). The house of Zakī 'l-Dīn al-Kharrūbī was rebuilt as a Khānqāh by the Sultan al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaikh in 1941 (op. cit.,

pp. 426-7). The Kārimī merchants, like the Mamluk emirs, spent considerable sums for building madrasas and provided them with the revenues of estates and houses. The Arab historians relate that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Musallam founded a madrasa for Shāfi'ites and Mālikītes, with a school for boys (*Khīṭat*, ii, p. 401). Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, too, built a madrasa, but avaricious as he was, did not allow funds for the payment of teachers and students (op. cit., pp. 368-9). These madrasas were built near the houses of their founders, e.g. that of Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, or even located within the mansion of the founder, e.g. that of Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī (ibid).

However, no conclusions should be drawn from the reports on the great wealth of the Kārimīs as to their social and economic power. These would be exaggerated and not be in accord with the reality of the Mamluk period. Within the framework of the Mamluk state there was, in general, no place for patrician families who might have enjoyed great power and influence for a long time. The authorities would, sooner or later, have ruined them by their system of contributions and confiscation of the inheritance. As a matter of fact, we do not hear of a family of Kārimī merchants who remained rich more than two or three generations. This is strikingly substantiated by the history of the al-Kharrūbī family. There were in this family three generations of wealthy and enterprising merchants; the fourth was poor. Al-Sakhāwī is very outspoken on this point. The first generation is represented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the second by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz, the third by his nephew Zakī 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr and by his son Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī. The Arabic historians call Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī the last of the Kharrūbī merchants of Egypt—*ākhir tujjār Miṣr min al-Kharārība* (apud Fischel, p. 71, and *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, v, p. 240). The reports on the family of Ibn Musallam are conflicting. Maqrīzī relates that the father of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam was a porter and later became a "travelling merchant" (*tājir saffūr*) (*Khīṭat*, ii, p. 401). But Ibn Ḥajar says that both his father and his father's father were wealthy and successful merchants. An uncle of his was, according to *Inbā'*, f. 17a, extraordinarily rich. If that is true, there were three generations of effective and rich traders in this family too, for the sons of Nāṣir al-Dīn lost their money. The history of another famous merchant family, as outlined in the biographical dictionary of al-Sakhāwī, reveals the same picture

(see the biographies of the Damascene merchants Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Muzallaq (d. 1444), his sons Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar (d. A.H. 841 = 1437-8) and Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1474) and his grandsons Ibrāhīm (d. A.H. 879 = 1474-5) and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, in *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, i, p. 41, iii, p. 126, vi, p. 120, viii, pp. 173-4). It should be stressed, however, that it was not the Mamluk government, at least not directly, which brought about the downfall of the Kārimī families. They were not ruined by contributions, but by the consequences of the development of the Egyptian economy as a whole. It seems that the Mamluk government, at any rate that of the Baḥrites, adopted a more lenient attitude towards the Kārimīs because it was interested in the revenues from the spice trade.

Naturally we should like to know the number of the Kārimī merchants. It surely underwent changes from time to time according to circumstances. We are indebted to Ibn Ḥajar who provides us with interesting and reliable information on this question. He says (f. 16a) that he found a note of the merchant al-Fāriqī of Zabīd that in the beginning of al-Malik an-Nāṣir's reign there were more than 200 Kārimīs in Egypt and that they had more than 100 employees who travelled overseas for them. To evaluate this report, it should not be overlooked that in the period in question (the beginning of the fourteenth century), the size of the Egyptian spice trade was limited to some extent owing to the effort of the Pope, after the capture of Acre, to weaken the economic power of Egypt by deflecting the commercial relations with the Middle East to other ports than hers.

In the Arabic sources no details have so far been discovered on the supposedly guildlike organization of the Kārimī merchants. This is a crucial point of the problem. There can be no doubt that they formed a special group of great business-men who co-operated in some way or other. But should we infer from the titles of "chief of the Kārimīs" and similar ones given to leading Kārimī merchants that there was a firm organization with grades, such as chief, simple member, etc., as does Fischel (p. 70)? Such titles found in Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries of the Middle Ages are perhaps not to be taken too literally. The Arabs were accustomed to bestow these titles lavishly on outstanding members of any social group. The most learned scholar of the Shāfi'ī jurisconsults of Egypt was called *ra'īs al-shāfi'īya bi-Miṣr*, and it would be erroneous to deduce from this title that there existed an organization of the

Shāfi'i doctors. But surely this prominent scholar was consulted when a judge for the adherents of his school (*madhhab*) was appointed and even in other cases he exerted great influence. It should be borne in mind that our ideas of social organization, inherited from the Romans, were not familiar to the medieval Orient. Most of the social institutions were not built up on well defined rules, nor did one cling to rules established in practice. The *Futuwwa* associations had their rules, but they originated in a religious background which was missing in the case of the Kārimīs. Furthermore the group-life of the akhis was a series of ceremonies and they could not help but appoint officers for celebrating them. The Kārimīs may have been a loose confederation of merchants bound together by mere professional interests. We may be sure that the richest and most esteemed Kārimī always decided on questions which gave rise to dissension, that he, with some other prominent members of the group, represented them before the government, and that his authority was recognized by all the Kārimīs. But there need not have been written statutes, such as the Westerners used to have.

III

Another question not yet solved is that of the rise and the decline of the Kārimīs. Various reports on their activities point to the period of the Bahrī Mamluks and the two decades after it as the time in which they flourished. But when did their rise begin? Fischel quotes Maqrīzī who relates in his *Sulūk* (i, pp. 72-3) that the Kārimīs came to Egypt in 1181 and had to pay taxes for some years. The Egyptian historian does not say, however, that they came for the first time in that year. Due attention should be paid to a statement in Qalqashandī's *Subh* (iii, p. 524) where he says that the Fatimids had a fleet in the port of 'Aidhāb which was charged to protect the Kārimī ships from pirates. That the Fatimids made great efforts to divert the spice trade from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and established commercial bases on the way to India is well known. (The place of commercial relations in Fatimid policy was discussed in a recently published paper of B. Lewis: "The Fatimids and the route to India," *Revue de la faculté des sciences économiques de l'université d'Istanbul*, 11, pp. 50-54.) At any rate, it is remarkable that the spice traders' ships are called Kārimī ships in this passage.

Under the rule of the Bahrī Mamluks, the Kārimīs apparently

monopolized the spice-trade between Yemen and Egypt or at least their preponderance was overwhelming. There was a great difference between the Indian spice trade of the Fatimid and the Mamluk periods. The small capitalists previously engaged in it were gradually supplanted by the Kārimī merchants who accumulated enormous wealth. This was the result of the economic policy of the Mamluk government, which oppressed the small traders by its system of taxes and monopolies. We do not hear, however, that in the first half of the Bahrī period the Mamluk government asked the Kārimīs to raise funds in case of emergency. In the middle of the fourteenth century their economic power rose more and more. They had a great international bank in Cairo which gave, in 1351 and 1352, huge loans to a Yemenite king imprisoned by the Sultan of Egypt; they were certainly payable in Yemen (*al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, ed. Popper, v, pp. 89-90, 117). Even the Egyptian government began to apply to them for financial help. In 1352, when the Syrian governors had revolted and the Sultan needed funds for a military expedition, the vizier received orders to take a loan from the merchants. Apparently the Kārimīs opposed the government's demand, for our source goes on to relate that they bought certain products from the Sultan at their real value, thus providing him with the necessary funds (op. cit., p. 121; this passage was misunderstood by Fischel, p. 77, who speaks of a loan to the king of Yemen). Once more the Mamluk government had shown a remarkable leniency in its relations with the Kārimī merchants, since we read in our source that some state officials were laid under heavy contributions to be paid in cash. At the end of the fourteenth century, under the rule of Sultan Barqūq, the power of the Kārimīs and their influence came to their peak. At that time they played a rôle comparable to that of the great bankers of Baghdad in the Abbasid period and of the Mādhara'iyūn of Egypt. When the government, which became more and more impoverished, had to prepare a military expedition, it borrowed great sums from the Kārimīs. We hear that they lent to Barqūq a million dirhams in 1394 when an invasion of the Mongols was imminent and the Mamluk government decided to send troops to the Syrian border (*al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, v, p. 562). In 1403 Christian raiders attacked Alexandria and an expedition had to be organized to protect the chief port of Egypt. Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, the renowned Kārimī, contributed a great sum to its cost (*Inba'*, f. 125a).

But it seems that a short time later the riches of the Kārimīs vanished. The general breakdown of the Egyptian economy in the beginning of the fifteenth century probably ruined the Kārimīs too. The outstanding Kārimī merchants of the end of the fourteenth century are, in the Arabic sources, called "the last Kārimīs". To the passages quoted by Fischel (p. 71) a note in al-'Ainī's *Iqd al-jumān* (f. 577b) may be added: the chronicler says that Zaki 'l-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī was the last of the Kārimīs in Egypt and with him they disappeared from the scene. Again, this should not be understood literally. Five out of nine Kārimīs whom we have added to Fischel's list lived in the fifteenth century. Further, in the chronicles of this period, we find reports on the appointment of officials charged with the collection of the Kārimīs' taxes (*Inbā'*, f. 256a). In general there is no reason to suspect that expressions like Kārimī merchants or Kārimī trade are mere equivalents of spice traders and spice trade in sources of that period, although sometimes this may be the case. Yet the new material does not contradict Fischel's opinion on this point. The end of the fourteenth century was the great time of the Kārimīs, whereas the merchants of the fifteenth century called Kārimī seem to have been men of moderate wealth. The economic decline of Egypt and the ever growing pressure of the Mamluk government, which controlled the spice trade and participated in it, encroached on the activities of these merchants. But even in this period the Kārimīs were not annihilated, because both public opinion and the government were aware of the importance for the economy of Egypt of their spice trade. In 1429-30 an epidemic ravaged the country and when the Sultan Barsbāy asked the leading theologians about the causes of the disaster, they mentioned, among others, the measures taken by the government against the Kārimī merchants (*Inbā'*, f. 235b).

IV

The conclusions reached so far confirm some of Fischel's inferences and refute others. Fischel expressed the opinion that the Kārimīs were a group of merchants engaged in the spice trade between Egypt and Yemen. But, without doubt, there were also Kārimī merchants in Damascus. The first Kārimī merchant of our additional list was a Damascene and pursued his commercial activities both in Damascus and in Cairo. True, Ibn Kathīr does not say explicitly that Ibn al-Ruhā'īli died in Damascus, but this may be taken as sure, since

the chronicler does not state the contrary. We may also infer from Qalqashandī's exposé of the Mamluk administration of Syria that there was a group of Kārimī merchants in Damascus. In the list of administrative officers of the province of Damascus there appears an "inspector of the zakāt-tax (*shādd al-zakāt*) with the task of dealing with the Kārimī trade and the like" (*Subh*, iv, p. 187). That this passage reveals the state of affairs may be gathered from the fact that such a post is not included in the tableau of the administration of Aleppo, nor in that of any other Syrian province (*ibid.*, pp. 217 ff).

Further, Fischel believes that the Kārimīs were an exclusively Moslem group of merchants. This opinion is clearly refuted by a record in a Judeo-Arabic document reading: "There departed among the Kārimīs of our comrades the Jews" (British Museum Or. 5549, iii, f. 5r, see Catalogue of Margoliouth no. 1135, pt. iii, p. 563). There was certainly no reason why the Kārimīs should not have admitted Christians and Jews to their company. J. Mann published in his work "The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs II, p. 246-7" two Genizah documents which contain apparently lists of tax-payers or people who collected a fund. There appear in one list al-Kārimīn—50 (p. 247) and in the other list where no shares are given: al-kurrām hā-arbā'āh (the four Kārimīs). The quota 50 is remarkably greater than those of other people mentioned in the list. These are documents of the eleventh century.

Lastly, Fischel's assertion as regards the extent of the Kārimīs' business should be modified. The spice trade was their domain, as is explicitly stated in various Arabic sources (e.g. *Subh*, 13, p. 341). But this should be taken *cum grano salis*. For besides the spice trade and banking, these great merchants were engaged in other fields. The goods bought by the Kārimīs from the Sultan in 1352 (s. above) were agricultural products of his estates. Another report on the Kārimīs' business in Maqrīzī's *Kḥiṭāṭ* (ii, p. 401), is not less clear. The Arab writer reports that Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Musallam had many employees and sent one of them to India, another to the Atlantic coast of Africa, a third to Abyssinia and some to other parts. We are probably not mistaken in deducing from this report that Nāṣir al-Dīn was a great slave trader. For what else did he import from Abyssinia and West Africa? Furthermore, we learn from Maqrīzī's statement that the Kārimīs did not refrain from travelling

to India or sending their employees there. The life-story of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maṣṣūr, as told by Arab historians, points to the same fact. This Kārimī merchant is sometimes called "al-Kūlamī", i.e. the man who travelled to Kūlam, the well-known sea-port of Malabar (*Sulūk*, ii, pp. 132-3). Some sources indicate that he made five voyages to China. Ibn Ḥajar says in his *al-Durar al-kāmina* (ii, p. 383) that he began his career as merchant with a voyage to the land of Cathay and brought a great quantity of silk from there to Aleppo. A chronicler of Yemen relates that he came to Aden in the year A.H. 703 (1303-4) on his way from Cathay and China and brought silk, moschus, porcelaine, slaves, etc., with him (al-Khazrajī. *al-'Uqūd al-lūllū'īya*, i, p. 350).

NOTES ON THE EDITION OF THE KITĀB AL-NAFS ASCRIBED TO IŞHĀQ IBN HUNAYN.

BY MUHAMMAD ŞAGHIR ḤASAN

Kitāb al-Nafs al-mansūb li Işhāq ibn Hunayn, published by Dr. Aḥmad Fu'ād al-Ahwānī along with the *Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-Nafs* of Ibn Rushd (Imprimerie Misr S.A.E., Cairo, 1950), appears to be the earliest extant Arabic commentary of the *De Anima* of Aristotle. The edition is based on the only known manuscript, in the Escorial Library of Madrid. Though the opening words of the text clearly indicate that it is the translation of Aristotle's *De Anima*, it is in fact a commentary and not a translation. Hartwig Derenbourg, the cataloguer of the Escorial Library, was misled by the opening words of the manuscript and has, therefore, ascribed it to Işhāq ibn Hunayn.¹ Casiri, an earlier cataloguer, was equally wrong when he ascribes the work to Ibn Rushd.² Terms and expressions clearly demonstrate that the work is either a maiden attempt of Işhāq, or done by somebody who preceded him and was not associated with his school. Terms such as *حلية* (form), *طينة* (matter), *العلّة التّامة* (the final cause) and *الحس العامى* (the common sense), and the like which occur in the work³ were represented by Işhāq and his school by expressions such as *صورة*, *مادة*, *العلّة الغائية*, *المشترك* and *الحس المشترك* respectively. It is, therefore, difficult to accept the ascription of the work to Işhāq ibn Hunayn.⁴

There are, however, manuscripts of a Persian version of this Arabic work at Oxford and London—one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, two in the India Office Library,⁵ and two in the British

¹ cf. *Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escorial*, vol. i, p. 457, 1884.

² See his *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis*, vol. i, p. 163, col. 2: "Averrois commentarius in Aristotelis libros de Anima."

³ Ahwānī's edition: pp. 128, 131, 132, 137.

⁴ cf. *Oriens*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1953, p. 126, where Dr. R. Walzer refers to this edition in the following words: "Being a translation it has, without any convincing reason, been ascribed to Işhāq ibn Hunayn (who is credited with a translation of the complete *De anima*, whose editio princeps is under preparation by Ahwānī and father Anawāti, O.P.)."

⁵ The two MSS. are as follows: (a) Ind. Off. Lib. No. 1234 (E. 1812/ETC) contains among other works of Afḡal Kāshānī his *Risāla Nafs* mentioned as *ترجمة رسالة نفس از بابا افضل كاشاني* in fol. 3a. It consists of ff. 3b-21a, the written portion measuring 3½ in. × 6½ in., and each page containing twenty-two lines. It is written in beautiful *nasta'liq*. The handwriting of the *Risāla* looks older than that of other treatises which were transcribed by Ja'far Abū Ṭālib in A.H. 1179 at Murshidabād, India.

(b) Ind. Off. Lib. No. 706 (1921), ff. 51B-86A, written in beautiful *nasta'liq*, each page containing sixteen lines and the written portion measuring 2½ in. × 5½ in. The colophon is as follows (fol. 219B):—

تمت الرسالات بعون قاضى الحاجات فى شهر سنة ١٠٦٨ هـ على يد اقل عباد الله احمد بن محمد الموسوى.

Museum.¹ As is clear from the London manuscripts, this Persian translation was made by the famous Shi'ite Bābā Muḥammad Afdal Kāshāni (died in the seventh century A.H.), also known as Bābā Afdal Kāshī. He was a contemporary of the renowned philosopher and scientist, Naṣīruddin al-Ṭūsī and according to the *Riḡād al-Shu'arā* was his sister's son. Ethé, the cataloguer of the Persian MSS. of the India Office Library states² that he "ranks in the line of Sufi epigrams (*Ruba'iyāt*) with Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī'l-Khayr and 'Umar bin Khayyām". There are three versions about the date of his death, namely 666/1268, 667, and 707/1307, 1308.

As mentioned in the *Fihrist Kitāb Khāna-i-'Āstāna-i-Quds Ridwi, Mashhad*, vol. iv, published in A.H. 1325, the Persian translation of Bābā Afdal was published in Teheran. No date is given, but a Persian translation clearly shows the popularity of the original among the Muslim thinkers.

The Bodleian MS. of the Persian version forms part of the Ousl. 95 and consists of folios 41B-52B. The written portion of the text measures 4½ in. × 9 in., and most of the pages contain twenty-nine lines. The manuscript is in good condition and written in beautiful *nasta'liq* script, but occasionally the handwriting turns to *Shikasta*, the broken and curved Indian script. The colophon which runs as follows indicates that it was transcribed at Mashhad in Jumada II, 1039/1629 :—

تمام شد مقاله سیوم و پتایء آن کتاب نفس منسوب بارسطاطا لیس
در وقت غروب خورشید روز یکشنبه در بام مسجد حضرت امام حسن
عسکری که در پهلویء روضه فاطمه بنت موسی کاظم است و رقم
بتاریخ شهر جمادی الثانی سنه ۱۰۳۹. والحمد لله رب العالمین اولاً و آخراً
و ظاهراً و باطناً و الصلوٰۃ علی سید الانبیاء و قدوة الاصفیاء و علی افضل
الاولیاء و مفخر الاولیاء.

The Arabic text published by Dr. A. F. Ahwāni contains textual mistakes which escaped the notice of the learned editor who based his edition on the only manuscript of Escorial. And as the Persian translation offers immense help in understanding the Arabic text and correcting errors, I have collated the Arabic text with the Persian translation of the Bodleian manuscript as follows :—

(The portion bracketed in the Persian version is either missing or has been traced in a different place in the Arabic edition of Dr. al-Ahwani.)

¹ For the British Museum MSS. see Rieu. II, p. 834b, no. xxiii; see also p. 1055, no. 1921, 4.

² See vol. i, p. 994.

| Arabic Edition | Persian Version | Remark |
|----------------|-----------------------|---|
| p. 129, 3: | fol. 41b7: | پس گفت حد درست آن بود که دلیل کند بر ماهیت چیز و لهیت او یعنی بر علت او. |
| p. 129, 11: | fol. 41b11: | افلاطون گوید در کتابی ازان او معروف بطیافوس. |
| p. 130, 8: | fol. 42a3: | پس ازان وصف حاشه چنانکه وصف بصر خواست کرد، نخست وصف لون کرد که چیست پس وصف بصر پس روشنی را یاد کرد و گفت از گد شنگان بعضی جسم گفتند روشنی، و بعضی دیگر گفتند نه جسمیت، و حجت هریک را یاد کرد، و گفتار آن را صواب داشت. |
| p. 130, 10: | fol. 42a4: | ثم ذکر اینها و قال: ... انه ليس بجم. وصوب رأي من قال. |
| p. 130, 17: | missing in the trans. | Cf. p. 154, 17-22. |
| p. 130, 21: | fol. 42a7: | ... مگر آنکه نخست آغاز از وصف حرکت و هم گرفت. |
| p. 130, 21: | fol. 42a7: | از آنکه چنان دید که وصف این هر دو یاری دهد در صفت نفس گویا. |
| | | وابتدا بوصف الحركة والهم: Cf. p. 156, 19. |
| | | رأى انهما يمينان في (؟): |

| Arabic Edition | Persian Version | Remark |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| p. 131, 1: | fol. 42a9: | الحس العالمى المشترك (؟): |
| p. 131, 8: | fol. 42a13: | پس وصف حس عاى مشترك كرد. |
| پم انما تعلم الاشياء المبسوطه منها بجزء الخ. | fol. 42a15: | يا چیزهاى بسيطا چون صور بجزوى دادند. |
| p. 131, 12: | fol. 42a16: | فكيف يعقل الاشياء وهو لا يفهم: ينقل: |
| p. 131, 15: | fol. 42a16: | فان لم يعقل ذاته وهم الغائل ان العقل جوهر مفارق لكل جسم. |
| p. 132, 17: | missing in the trans. | ذاته فن يقول ويعلم ان العقل جوهر الخ: |
| p. 132, 18: | fol. 42a, last line: | تمام شد شمار آنچه دانا ياد كرد در كتاب نفس و آن سه مقالتست، المقالة الاولى. |
| p. 133, 11: | fol. 42b10: | A heading is possible as follows: المقالة الاولى، ان العلم الخ |
| p. 133, 12: | fol. 42b10: | حب الصبيان (؟) |
| p. 133, 17: | fol. 42b13: | تحبة محسوسها (؟): |
| ان الاشياء لا تخلو... كلها للنفس. | fol. 42b13: | العلم بها واقعا تحت الحس او تحت الرأى الحمود، او تحت اليوم او تحت العقل، وهذه كلها قوى للنفس (؟) |

- p. 134, 5: fol. 42b18: و نزدیک گردد بپاهی (چون دیده بینا که اگر در دیدن چیزیها استقصا کند زیانش دارد، و بینایش تباهی گردد).
- p. 136, 4: fol. 43a15: چنانکه فعل گوش نه فعل چشم بود (و فعل چشم نه فعل بینی و فعل بینی نه فعل دهان و فعل دست نه فعل پای و فعل پای نه فعل جمله تن).
- p. 137, 1: fol. 43a25: از آنکه مقدار صورتست، و اسطقات مایه و طینت و نفس را طینت کردند نه صورت و صورت شر یفر که طینت.
- p. 140, 10: fol. 44a12: تمام جسم طبیعی آلی را بمعنی اول گفت.
- p. 142, 3: fol. 44b10: و بعضی از آن قوتها همه تن نگذازند (و هر یک را اندامیست خاص) چون حسن بینائی.
- p. 142, 10: fol. 44b14: الا آنکه صورتیست از جسم جدا بی آنکه تباه و باطل شود و ملائم جسم نیست تا اگر جسمش تباه گردد او نیز نپایه شود.
- p. 143, 4: fol. 44b25: پس گفت غذا از شوق بقاء و دوام کند.
- p. 143, 12: fol. 45a3: صفت غذا کرد (و گفت غذا فزاید و قوی گرداند جسم ذو نفس را و قوت غذا کردن اول قوتیست نفس نامیه است پس چنان خواهیم که غذا را ملخص کنیم و جدا گردانیم از آنچه نه غذاست و در گان آید که غذاست) پس گوئیم، غذا استعالت چیزیست با چیزی یا هست کردن چیز یست از چیزی.
- p. 134, 5: و اقرب من فساد.
- p. 136, 4: و ذاك ان فعل البصر الخ.
- p. 137, 1: المقدار في الصورة والاستقصات في الطينة الخ.
- p. 140, 10: بالنوع الاول.
- p. 142, 3: وبعضها لا ينفذ الخ.
- p. 142, 10: الا انها . . . وليست بلازمة له الخ.
- p. 143, 4: شوقا الى النماء والدوام.
- p. 143, 12: وصف النماء نفسه فقال النماء هو . . . شئ من شئ.

The translation differs from
Ar. Text, cf. 158, 18-20
et sq.

شوقا الى البقاء والدوام.

| Arabic Edition | Persian Version | Remark |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| p. 143, 15: | fol. 45a6: | مثل السقم السقم (؟) |
| الصحّة. | مثل السقم الصحّة. | |
| p. 143, 20: | fol. 45a8: | Cf. 159, 12 et sq. |
| وينسى ويشق من اجله الخ. | <p>که بدان پیفزاید و ببالد، (و قوی از علایق زمان پیشین گفته اند چه حالتست اسطقس آتش را از میان اسطقسان که همی بالد و همی فزاید گویا غذا کننده است. جواب گفت که آتش پیفزاید و نبالد از آنکه آنچه آلد و فزاید او را حدی و نهایی بود که تا آن حد فزاید و چون بدان حد رسد بایستد و ازان نگذرد و فزودن آتش را حدی و نهایی نباشد که ازان نگذرد، و چندانکه مدد یابد همیفزاید، پس آن فزایش نه فزایش بالیدن و نشوست و چندانکه فزاینده او غذا بود) و چند آنکه همی دهیش فزایش گیرد و بی حدی و نهایی خاص.</p> | |
| p. 143, 21: | fol. 45a12: | Vide p. 143, 21. |
| فلا اخبر من غیر شبهه من شبهه. | <p>پس چون آگهی داد از غذا که چیست گفت هیچ دانی که چیز غذا کننده غذا را از مانند خود سازد یا نه از مانند خود، که بعضی از گد شنگان گفته اند که چیز غذا از مانند خود کند [= p. 143, 22] - (بدان حجت [= 4-6]، [cf. 159] که غذا را کسار آست که باین غذا کننده دو شد و در اجزای او پراکنده شود، و پیفزایش و در تن پترا کند چنانکه بوی مانده بود، پس چیز غذا از مانند خود کند) و قوی [= p. 143, 22] دیگر گفتند که چیز غذا از نه مانند کند، و هردو گروه راست گویند از روی و روی، از آنکه (سپید [cf. 159, 8] از سپید مشغل نه گردد و نه سرد از سرد و نه گرم از گرم، پس اگر غذا مانند تن غذا کننده باشد از و مشغل نه گردد و کار غذا آنست که مستحیل شود پس غذا نه از مانند بود).</p> | Cf. p. 159, 4-6. |
| p. 143, 23: | fol. 45a17: | Vide p. 143, 22. |
| ولك نوبين. | پس چنین گفت دانای یونان که غذا دوگونه است). | Cf. p. 159, 8. |
| | | Translation differs from Ar. Text. |
| | | Cf. 159, 12. |

This passage is nearer to Ar. Text, 159, 17-21.

See also p. 160, 2. The trans. agrees partly with p. 144, 6, and partly with 160, 2.

Cf. 160, 7-9.

فوصف الحواس الخ.

Cf. 161, 7-21.

fol. 45a18:

و اما غذا بقوت آنکه هنوز گردنده حال نباشد و طعام که ناخنه بود هنوز غداست و بتن غذا کننده نماند. (و همچنین دیگر خورشها که بیرون تن باشد و نارسیده بتن هنوز و از حال نگردیده و مانند تن نشده آترا بغذا نکند الا ذوق نفس و ازین گفته شد که آتش غذا کننده نیست از آنکه ذوق نفس نیست، و همچنین دیگر چیزها که نفس ندارند غذا نکنند).

fol. 45a22:

بسه چیز است بقوت غاذیه، و بحارت غریزی و بغذا و ازین هر سه یکی جنباننده است و دوم جنبنده و جنباننده هر دو، و سیوم جنبنده و پس، اما جنباننده قوت غاذیه است مر حرارت غریزی را و حرارت از قوت پنجند و انگینخته شود.

fol. 45a24:

و غذا منفعل از حرارت و پس. (و گفت ماصفت غذا درین موضع بقدر حاجت گفتیم از آنکه صفت نفس خواستیم و سخن دران بشرح و استقصا در کتاب کون و فساد و طبایع حیوان توان گفت.) و چون از غذا او کیفیت او. . .

fol. 45b1:

و دلیل بران از قبل حواس [fol. 45b] جست و حواس را همه بیک صفت وصف کرد.

fol. 45b7:

و چون آگهی داد که انفعال چگونه پذیرد منفعل (گفت که چه افتاد حواس را که خود را نمی یابند، و بینائی بینائی را نبینند و نه ذوق ذوق را چشند، و همچنین دیگر حواس که از خود آگه نشوند، پس سخن زاید گشود درین سوال و گفت حواس مانند محسوسات بقوت چون محسوس حاضر گردد حواس صورت ویرا پذیرد پس مانند او شود بفعل چون شع که نقش انگشتی بود. پس از برای این گفت که مانند محسوس بقوت پس چون منفعل گردد از

p. 144, 1:

و اما الغذا . . . بالقوة.

p. 144, 6:

الغاذیه الغریزیه.

p. 144, 10:

ینفعل فقط.

p. 144, 16:

فوصف الحواس.

p. 144, 24:

. . . المنفعل، قال:

Remark

Persian Version

محموس مانند محموس باشد بفعل، و یافتن محموس را حاس بدان بود که منفعل گردد از محموس و اثر و صورت را قبول کند، و بدین نوع حاس محموس را نیابد، و باز گشت بسخن و گفت قوت حسی سزاوار شود بحاس خود و مانند او شود، و ما گفتیم که چیز از مانند خود منفعل نگردد، و قوت حسی نخست منفعل شود از محموس پس در یابد - و ازین بود که هیچ حسی بخود نرسد و خود را نیابد برای آنکه چیز از خود منفعل نشود بلکه منفعل از غیر تواند شد، و چون سخن این سوال مطلق راند در اطلاق سخن یاد قوت کرد، گفت قوت بر دو گونه بود یکی بقبول چنانکه کودک کند [= مثل الطفل/ مثل البصر : p. 161, 20] را گویند دیراست بقوت، برای آنکه تعلیم دیرری تواند قبول کرد، و دوم گونه بآراستگی و شایستگی بود چون مرد دیر که نسوید و چون خواهد بنویسد آراسته و بدست نهاده دیرری را، و چون ملخص کرد قوت و انواعش را گفت : ما چون حاس را، مانند محموس گوئیم بقوت بدینمعنی دوم گوئیم چون کاتب حاذق که چون خواهد بنویسد.

Cf. p. 145, I-3.

p. 145, 8 :

فان السواد . . . من البياض.

فان البياض . . . من السواد (٩)

p. 145, 12 :

ولما وصف الحاس خاصة الخ.

fol. 45b20 :

پس چون وصف حواس کرده بود وضعی عام مرهمه را صفت آغاز کرد بصفت یکیک حش.

وصف الحواس (١٠) . . .

p. 145, 16 :

فعل الحواس في الاشياء الماخضة.

fol. 45b22 :

وگفت از برای آنست که فعل حواس در چیزهای جزوی بود و جزئیات اجسامند.

الاشياء الجزئية (٩)

p. 146, 21 :

ولا يعرض.

fol. 46a12 :

و ضوه بنات نکند بلکه يعرض از آنکه ضوه رنگ را. بردارد . . .

ولكن يعرض (٩)

- p. 149, 14 : ولا يعرض ذلك في مكان آخر.
 p. 150, 4 : والايشاء المتوسطة بين هذين.
 p. 150, 6 : . . . وسائر الطوم المتوسطة.
 p. 150, 12 : وهذا كرية الرخ.
 p. 151, 16 : فثل الملح والبورق.
 p. 151, 20 : احدهما مثل الحرير.
 p. 151, 21 : والاخر مثل اكثر السموم.
 p. 152, 1 : بصفتين غائبين.
 fol. 46b23 : واين حال چون در صحراي كشيده باشم نباشد.
 fol. 47a5 : حسن بويائي جز خوش و ناخوش را از يكديگر جدا نتواند كرد و چيزهاي بسيط ديگر را كه ميان اين دو مخالف باشند تميز نكند.
 fol. 47a6 : و ديگر چاشنبي بسيط را در يابد و از ديگر جدا كند و حسن بويائي همان شناسد كه موافق و خوش بود و يا مخالف و ناخوش و نتواند كه بوي گل را از بوي ميعه جدا كند و نه بوي صبر را از بوي مربل كه همين دانيم كه بويهاي خوشست يا بويهاي ناخوش.
 fol. 47a9 : و گوئيم اين خوشبو نيست و آن ناخوش بوي، (وازين بوي شيرين همي آيد و از آن بوي ترشي).
 fol. 47a25 : چون نمك و بوره و شكر و آنچه بدان ماند كه چون آب بوي رسد تر شود بفصل و آب گردد.
 fol. 47a27 : و آن چيز كه طعم ندارد دو نوع بود يكي چون آهن و سنگ كه طعم ندارد و حش ذوق را تباه نكند.
 fol. 47a27 : و نوع ديگر چون سموم كه طعم ندارد و ذوق را تباه كند.
 fol. 47a29 : پس صفت لس را آغاز كرد و اورا وصف كرد بلو صفت غريب و بدان معانات شنونده.
 ?
 Add :
 Add : حلسو الراجة وهذا حافض : الراجة (؟)
 مثل الحديد والحجر فلا طعم لها ولا يفسدان الذوق.
 مثل اكثر السموم (؟)
 بصفتين غريبتين (؟)

Arabic Edition

p. 152, 3:

ليست اللحم بل هي لشيء آخر.

p. 152, 19:

والجاسي والناعم والخشن الخ.

p. 153, 5:

لولف على يده ثوبا رفيعا الخ.

p. 154, 5:

صور الاشياء تختلط معاً بلا زمان.

p. 154, 16:

الروح الحسة.

p. 154, 25:

فقل (بياض بالأصل).

p. 155, 2:

فترطب وتخشن.

Persian Version

fol. 47b3:

و صفت ديگر آنكه حس لمس نه گوشت راست بلكه چيزي ديگر راست كه گوشت را در باطن دارد و برگوشت پوشيده است.

fol. 47b13:

و همچنين سخت و نرم را و درشت و ساده را، و آن ممانات اول را درين كتاب مطلق نكرد ليكن در كتاب حس و محسوس مطلق گفت اين سخن را، (و اما ممانات دوم را بيان كرد برين صفت، و گفت).

fol. 47b17:

اگر كسي جامه تنگ بر انگشت پيچد و انگشت در آب گرم ياسرد نهد از آن گزي يا سردى آكه شود بى زمان.

fol. 48a62:

جواب گوئيم هوا حاملست محسوسات سوي حواس و حامل و محمول بهم يافته شوند بى زمان از آنكه هوا محيطست بر چيزها و حس محيط و محاط را بهم يابد بى زمان.

fol. 48a12:

و آن روح خالصست و محل و حامل قوتهاى حس اوست.

fol. 48a21:

دوم آنكه چيز دو طرف را قبول تواند كرد چون كوكب را كه نه صالح خوانندش نه فاسق تا آنكه كه بيك طرف كرايد پس يا صالح بود يا فاسق.

fol. 48a20:

چون قوت غذا و نما دارد از چيزهاى بسوفى منفل گردد چنانكه تر شود و خشك گردد.

Remark

ليست للحم بل هي لشيء آخر.

والجاسي والناعم والخشن الخ.

لولف على اصبعه ثوباً رفيعاً
م (؟)

(؟)

الروح الحسة (؟)

مثل الطفل فانه.

فترطب ويخشن.

- p. 155, 4 : الحيوان الخرفي.
 fol. 48a21 : و همچنين جانوران سفال پوست حص لبس ندارند چون صدف و حلزون و هر جانوره پوست اندامش تنگتر و نرم تر حص لبس قوی تر.
- p. 155, 10 : انفعال تمام.
 fol. 48a25 : و گفت چیزهای که جانها ندارند منفل میشوند از چیزهای محسوس بلبس لیکن انفعال تباهی نه انفعال تمامی.
- p. 156, 21 : الى الاشياء الخيالية. و لذلك سمی الفيلسوف العقل وهما منفعلا. (۹)
 fol. 48b19 : و از برای آن وهم بمنقل نزدیکتر است که کاروهم بخود در بود چون کار عقل. و چیزهای بیرونی محتاج نگردد چون حواس و ازین روی دانا عقل را وهم منفعل گفت.
- p. 157, 6 : مثل الاشياء العملية.
 fol. 48b25 : و چون چیزهای کلی و صور و مانند آن.
- p. 157, 7 : وهو الخلم.
 fol. 48b26 : الا آنکه همه را در یکنام بهم آورد و حکم خواند.
- p. 158, 12 : قال قوم من القدماء الخ.
 p. 160, 3 : احداها يتحرك والآخر محرك والثالث محرك فقط.
 fol. 45a22, as quoted above against p. 144, 6.
- p. 161, 20 : مثل البصر.
 fol. 45b7, as quoted above against p. 144, 24.
- p. 162, 12 : الكائن بالفعل وذلك ان الحس الكائن بالفعل.
 fol. 49a20 : وصف کرد وهم را و گفت وهم حرکت حص بمنقلست که محسوس. بنقل حص را بجنباند وحش وهم را بجنباند.
- كالصدف والحلزون. (۹) Add :
 Cf. p. 167, 22. انفعال فساد لا انفعال تمام (۹)
- الى الاشياء الخارجية. ولذلك سمی الفيلسوف العقل وهما منفعلا. (۹)
- الاشياء الكلية (۹)
- وهو الخلم (۹)
- احداها يتحرك والآخر محرك ومتحرك والثالث متحرك فقط.
- مثل الطفل.
- الكائن بالعقل. (۹) ان الحس الكائن بالعقل.

| Arabic Edition | Persian Version | Remarks |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| p. 162, 22 : | fol. 49a25 : | ? |
| الكائن بالفترة. | پس درست شد که وهم جنبش است از حس بعقل. | |
| p. 163, 1 : | fol. 49a27 : | Translation differs from the Ar. Text. |
| والخبر بملة الهم الخ. | پس اگهی داد از علت وهم بهیمی که چرست و گفت که وهم در بهایم بدل عقلست که ایشان را چون قوت عقل نبود و همی بدار ند تا بدان چیزهای مختلف و موافق را همی یابند که وهم مثال خرد است و گریانی. | |
| p. 163, 25 : | fol. 49b13 : | Cf. 145, 21. |
| ان النفس الناطقة مكان الصورة. | و دانائی یونان گفتار آنکه گفت نفس گویا جای صورتهائی عقلست نه نفس بهیمی و نه نفس نباتی داشت و نکوش کرد افلاطون را بدانکه گفت که نفس جای صورتهاست هر نفس که بود - و پیسنید سخن او را که گفت نفسی که بفعل باشد جای صورتهاست نه نفسی که بقوت بود. | |
| p. 169, 12 : | fol. 51a10 : | لا يقبل التجزئة بالقوة ولا بالفعل ولا بالوهم (؟) |
| لا يقبل التجزئة الا بالوهم. | اما آن چیز که بحق بی جزو بود معقول بی ماده باشد که آن. قابل تجزیه نباشد نه بقوت و نه بفعل و نه بالوهم. | |
| p. 169, 16 : | fol. 51a12 : | بأن يصفها. |
| بأن يصفها. | و عقل نقطه را بدان داند که وصفش کند. | |
| p. 170, 4 : | fol. 51a19 : | ? |
| ليس بين العقل الخ. | گفت میان عقل بفعل و معقول بفعل هیچ فرق نیست از آنکه عاقل بفعل معقول نیز هست و معقول بفعل عاقل نیز باشد. | |

- p. 171, 1 : fol. 51b7 : الحواس (؟)
و دليل براین حواس، که حس بصر تمیز میان سیاهی و سپیدی و دیگر رنگها
پیک قوت کند.
- p. 171, 4 : fol. 51b8 : الحواس (؟)
و دیگر حواس جزوی تمیز کنند میان محسوسات خویش.
- p. 171, 17 : fol. 51b15 : الحواس (؟)
رشن نموده بجهتهای درست.
- p. 172, 7 : fol. 51b21 : الحواس (؟)
و گفت آلات صنایع همه چنانند که هیچ صنعت نتواند کرد الا بآلت آن
پس آلت است آلات همه آلات.
- p. 172, 21 : fol. 52a4 : الحواس (؟)
و حیوان بود که حرکت مکانی نکند چو بعضی جانوران دریا.
- p. 173, 1 : fol. 52a6 : الحواس (؟)
و این نه آئین عقل نظریست انکه عقل نظری را با کارهای بدنی عاقلی (؟)
نیست و غرض او تفحص بود از کارهای او و چیزهای کلی.
- p. 173, 15 : fol. 52a13 : الحواس (؟)
دیگری باطل بود پس گفت علت حرکت مکانی یکی چیز است و آن شوق بود.
- p. 175, 3 : fol. 52b10 : الحواس (؟)
و گفت حواس بعضی موافقند کردن مارا و بعضی موافقند آراستن کردن مارا.

So the Persian translation contains explanatory expressions as well as additional points not available in the published Arabic edition. It also reveals disorder in the Arabic text. The portion dealing with the Nutritive Faculty and the Faculty of Growth, which begins with قال قوم من القدماء p. 158, and ends with فلا يقال انه استحالة الا بالجاز p. 162, has been wrongly put in the middle of the discussion on الوهم, estimation. This portion, as it is in the Arabic edition, is missing from the Persian translation, but most of the passages contained in pages 158-162 are included in the Persian version in the following order:—

وصف الغذاء [see p. 143, 12] فقال: بالغذاء [p. 158, 18-20] يقوى المتنفس وينمى وتكون شىء من شىء، فلما علم انه [p. 143, 13] قد يقدر وباقيا فيه، ينمى وينشؤ من اجله. قال قوم [p. 158, 12] من القدماء: ما بال النار زيادة من جهة الغذاء. فلما اخبر بالغذاء [p. 143, 21] يغذى من شبهه. فانهم [p. 159, 4] يحتاجون فيقولون: فالشىء اذن يغذى من شبهه. وقال [p. 143, 22] بعضهم: يغذى على نوع نوع. مثل البياض [p. 159, 8] فانه بل من غير شبهه فقال الغذاء على نوعين بالغذى. واما الغذاء [p. 144, 1] الذى بالقوة لا يشبه المغذى. وكالاطعمة [p. 159, 15] الخارجة التى لم تصل الى الجسم، ولم تتغير ولم تتشبه به. انه لا يغذى [p. 159, 19] شىء من الاشياء الا ذوات الانفس فقط، ولذلك ليست بذوات النفس. فلما اخبر بالغذاء [p. 144, 2] وذلك ان قوام [p. 144, 6] المتنفس يكون بثلاثة اشياء: بالقوة الغذائية، وبالحرارة الغريزية [p. 160, 3] وبالغذاء، الا أن احدها يحرك (يتحرك: Ar. Text) والاخر محرك [ومتحرك] والثالث متحرك (محرك: Ar. Text) فقط وتتهيئ وتتحرك (يتحرك: Ar. Text) من القوة الغذائية فتفعل (يفعل: Ar. Text) فعلها. والغذاء [p. 144, 8] يتحرك وينتقل والغذاء يتفعل فقط. وقال انا [p. 160, 7] انما

وصفنا الغذاء هاهنا وفي صفة طبائع الحيوان. فلما اخبر
[p. 144, 10] بالغذاء وكيف هو

فلما اخبر كيف [p. 144, 24] ينفعل المنفعل، قال: ما بال [p. 161, 7]
الحواس لا تحس انفسها مثل البصر القوة على ضربين احدهما
بالقبول مثل الطفل (البصر: Ar. Text: p. 161, 20) الذى اذا شاء
كتب. [ولما لخص القوة وانواعها/ وچون لخص كرد قوت وانواعش را] قال
انما [p. 145, 1] نعى بالحاس مثل المحسوس الذى اذا شاء كتب.

This order of the text found in the translation gets rid of the
repetition of a number of expressions on pages 144-5 and 158-162 of
the Arabic text, as detailed below:—

الغذاء هو استحالة الشيء الى الشيء، أو تكون شيء من شيء: p. 143, 13
ان الغذاء هو استحالة شيء الى شيء، وتكون شيء من شيء: cf. 158, 20
انا قد نرى الشيء يستحيل الى شيء اخر وليس هو غذاء
له، مثل السقيم يستحيل الى الصحة وليس السقيم
بغذاء للصحة
p. 143, 14:

فانا قد نرى الجسم السقيم يستحيل من السقم الى الصحة، ولا
يقال ان السقم غذاء للصحة
cf. 158, 22:
also 1.20. الغذاء استحالة شيء الى شيء زائد في كميته فيسمى

وينشأ من اجله
p. 143, 16:
والغذاء ليس هو استحالة فقط إلا ان يكون زائدا في كمية
الشيء فيسمى وينشأ من اجله
cf. 158, 24:

الزيت يستحيل الى النار فينميها وليس هو غذاء لها، لان
الغذاء يلصق بالمغتذى ولا يبقى فيها.
p. 143, 18:
وذلك ان الزيت يغذو النار من جهة الزيادة

والزيت لا يلصق بالنار ولا يثبت فيها
cf. 158, 26—159, 2:
أترى الشيء يغتذى من شبهه ام من غير شبهه؟
p. 143, 21:

- cf. 159, 2 : أترى الشيء يغتذى من شبهه أم من غير شبهه؟
وذلك ان الغذاء على نوعين : احدهما ولم يتشبه
بالمغتذى
p. 143, 23—144, 2 : والغذاء على نوعين ولم يتشبه
cf. 159, 12 : بالمغتذى.
. وان قوام المتنفس يكون بثلاثة اشياء
p. 144, 6 : والغذاء يفعل فقط .
وقوام المتنفس انما يكون من ثلاثة اشياء اعنى
cf. 160, 2 : فالغذاء فاند يفعل ويتغير .
كذلك الحاس هو مثل المحسوس بالقوه بلا
p. 145, 3—5 : استحالة ان يسميها استحالة بالمجاز .
كذلك الحاس هو مثل المحسوس بالقوة
cf. 161, 22—4 : بالاستحالة (؟) نسميه استحالة بالمجاز .
(Read بالاستحالة بلا instead of استحالة)).

I may add that the Arabic text used by the translator was obviously a better text than the one edited by Dr. Ahwani, and was definitely free from the repetition and disorder pointed out above. Perhaps a collation of the Bodleian manuscript with the manuscripts in the British Museum and India Office Library may help further in establishing an improved Arabic text in case no other manuscript of the Arabic text comes to light.

A NOTE ON QAPQAN

BY GERARD CLAUSON

TURCOLOGISTS WILL ALL BE extremely grateful to Mr. Sinor for his paper on Qapqan in *JRAS.*, Pts. 3 and 4, 1954. It is most important that "delousing" operations of this kind should be performed before delusions get too firm a grip on the public mind. With his general thesis that the word is purely Turkish and not Iranian I wholeheartedly agree, but, with respect, I do not agree with his suggested etymology, and I should be grateful for an opportunity to make some supplementary observations.

The word QPĠN (not QPQN) occurs, so far as I am aware, only four times in actual Turkish texts, three times in the inscription of Toñukuk, and once in the Ongin inscription. These date from the early eighth century A.D. and so are the earliest recorded, with the doubtful exception of Professor Altheim's third-century ostrakon. There is not the least doubt what the word was in these inscriptions; it was the personal name of a Kağan of the Northern Türkü dynasty. The rulers of this dynasty had personal names and regnal titles. The personal name of QPĠN's predecessor was *Ėlteriş* (vocalization slightly uncertain) and his regnal title, which alone occurs in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, *Kuthuġ Kağan*. QPĠN was a personal name, and the corresponding regnal title, given in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, was *Mo-ch'o Kağan*. This appears in an unpublished Tibetan text in the Pelliot collection as *mBug Chor*, no doubt a transcription of the Chinese rendering not the Turkish original. The Turkish original is in fact obscure, but there are two references in the inscription of Toñukuk to a *Bügü Kağan*, which seems to be an alternative name for QPĠN; the full title may have been *Bügü Ğur Kağan*. His successor's regnal title was *Bilge Kağan*, the equivalent personal name in the Chinese authorities is *Mo-chi-lien*, for which no satisfactory Turkish explanation has yet been found.

The pronunciation of QPĠN is uncertain, it was no doubt disyllabic and the alternatives are *Kapġan* and *Kafġan* with the Byzantine evidence slightly in favour of the latter; both pronunciations may have existed simultaneously in different dialects. In view of known Turkish phonetic habits, a devoicing of the ġ, that is a pronunciation *Kapkan* is, *pace* Mr. Sinor, equally possible in a

dialect other than Türkü, even at a very early date. We do not know enough about the early Bulğar dialect to know whether it was a "devoicing" one, but it is not improbable.

The evidence collected by Mr. Sinor seems to show that the word, whatever its exact pronunciation, was originally a personal name in the Bulğar and Avar dialects as well as in Türkü. That it should also, and no doubt later, have been used as a title need not occasion any surprise, when one considers that such things often occurred in medieval Turkish and Slavonic countries; consider for example the evolution from *Carolus* (Charlemagne) to *kıral* "king" (Turkish) and *kral* (Slavonic) and from *Caesar* to *Kaysar* "emperor" (Turkish) and *Czar* (Slavonic).

So far then, and that is the part which really matters, Mr. Sinor and I are in complete agreement; where we part company is on the question whether the personal name *Kapğan* had a "meaning". Many Turkish titles, e.g. *Kuthuğ* and *Bilge* (Kağan), and some geographical names, e.g. *İki Ögüz* ("two rivers") obviously had meanings, but in my view most Turkish personal, family, tribal, and geographical names had not, and were as much basic elements in the language as the basic nouns and verbs.

This has not, however, prevented enthusiastic etymologists from trying to find "meanings" for them; the process has been going on for over a thousand years, and would provide a rich, and almost untouched, harvest for connoisseurs of the preposterous.

The earliest essay in this field that I know of is the famous explanation of the name "*Türk*" itself in the Chinese (seventh century A.D.) Chou Shu, Chap. 50¹;—"the natural formation of the Altay mountains is like a helmet, so he (i.e. A-shih-na) took the (Turkish) word 'helmet' for the name of his House." There is no Turkish word "*türk*" meaning "helmet"; the only word for "helmet" even vaguely resembling it is a very obscure one which appears in the Codex Cumanicus as *toulğa*, in the Abuşka as *dalğa/dawlğa/dawlğan* and in Redhouse as *tuğulğa*; probably a diligent search would disclose other forms. The only possible conclusion is that the author of the Chou Shu had no critical sense, and the same difficulty as many modern Chinese in distinguishing between *l* and *r*.

Even Mahmud al-Kaşğari, the father of Turkish lexicography,

¹ See N.Y. Bichurin's *Sobranie Svedeniy o Narodakh obitavshikh v Sredney Azii v drevnie vremena*, p. 221 of the 1951 reprint.

and probably its greatest exponent, writing in about A.D. 1074, records the theory, in his note on the name *Uyğur*,¹ that the name was originally *xūd̡xūr* and derived from a remark (in Persian!) by Dū'l Qarnayn (Alexander the Great) when he had seen some precision shooting by the Uyğur that "*inān xūd̡ xūrānd*", "these chaps can feed themselves." Kaşğari too seems to be the earliest exponent of the theory² that the name of the *Xalaç*, or *Kalaç*, tribe was derived from an incident when they wished to stay where they were and the other tribes wished to move on and, finding them obdurate, finally said "*kal āc*" "all right, stay and starve!"

The Paris Oğuz Nama, probably written somewhere near the Aral Sea in the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, gives quite a different explanation of *Kalaç*; according to it³ Oğuz Kağan, while on a journey, found a house with golden walls, iron windows, and a locked door, and said to one of his retinue "*kal aç*", "stay behind and open it."

Perhaps the most prolific source of such etymologies is the Jāmi'u'l-Tawārīx of Raşīdu'l-Dīn Faḍlu'llah written in the early years of the fourteenth century (the author was executed in A.D. 1318); these include *Uyğur* (from *uy-* "to follow"), *Kalaç* ("stay and starve") and a number of others. They are most conveniently available on pp. 83-90 of Vol. I of the new Russian translation of this work.⁴ Some of them are discussed at length in the Introduction to Radloff's "*Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass Hadschib aus Bālasagun*" (St. Petersburg, 1891), with a summary of the views of various nineteenth-century European scholars on the subject. The views expressed are extremely uncritical and show a complete lack of historical sense; for example no difficulty is felt in deriving *Uyğur* from *uy-* "to follow", although the sound change *ḍ > y* did not take place for some centuries after the first record of the name *Uyğur*, in whose dialect the verb was always pronounced *uḍ-*.⁵ Similarly no attempt whatever is made to explain the second syllable.

¹ I, 102, of the printed text, I, 111, of Atalay's translation.

² III, 306, of the printed text, III, 416, of Atalay's translation.

³ Bang and Rachmati, *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan*, p. 19.

⁴ Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisey*; Moscow-Leningrad, 1952.

⁵ It is doubtful whether *uḍ-*, as an ordinary verb, was current in the Uyğur dialect; the only certain occurrences are of the Gerund *uḍu*, used as a conjunction meaning "thereafter, thereupon".

More recent scholars have been less wild, but not much happier, in their etymologies. For example, F. W. K. Müller's derivation of the name *Türk* from "a Turkish word *türk* meaning 'strength'" is open to at least three objections:—(1) the original form of the name was not *Türk*, but *Türkü*, as is shown by the inscriptions of the *Türkü* dynasty and contemporary Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese and other records; (2) the Turkish noun *türk* did not mean "strength" but "ripeness" (of fruit), "maturity" (of man); (3) Kaşgari in his *Dîwân*¹ records the name and the noun side by side without suggesting any connection between the two, which in view of his obvious addiction to etymologizing proper names he would hardly have failed to do if he thought that the name was derived from the noun. His many friends and admirers greatly regret the late Professor Pelliot's essays in this field. It must always be remembered that of the many languages in which he did such brilliant work Turkish was the one in which he was least at home; and though Pelliot's worst was better than most other scholars' best, there is no doubt that in this field he has left one or two legacies of error which, in face of his enormous prestige, it will be difficult to bury in decent oblivion. In particular, in his posthumous work "*Quelques Noms Turcs d'Hommes et de Peuples finissant en -ar*" vast erudition in collecting material for the study is unfortunately combined with serious critical deficiencies in interpreting it.

It follows that, with all deference, I am quite unable to accept Pelliot's and Sinor's views on the etymological possibilities and functions of the reduplicating intensive prefix. I cannot dogmatize about Mongol, though remaining completely sceptical of the theory that *Teb-tengri* is an example of the reduplicating suffix (it seems to me likelier that *Teb* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *deva*), but there is no doubt that in Turkish the reduplicating prefix was used only with adjectives of colour, e.g. *apak* "dead white", and of size and the like, e.g. *up uzun* "very long", *bom boş* "quite empty". It seems to me no more possible to explain *Kapqan/Kaşqan* as *qap qan* "very khany" than to explain it as an Iranian phrase *kav kavan*. I cling to the belief that it was just a personal name, and no more susceptible of etymologizing than other personal names

¹ I, 292-4, of the printed text, I, 350-3, of Atalay's translation.

like *İstemi* and *Toñukuk*, which even the most enthusiastic etymologizers have found too hard nuts to crack.

Postscript.—Perhaps I might take this opportunity to apologize for the intrusion of two ghost words (misprints) in my paper on “Turkish Ghost Words” (*JRAS.*, 1955, Parts 3 and 4). The old Turkish word referred to on p. 136, line 21, was *ulus* “country” (not *ulus*) and the form in Mongolian, subsequently reborrowed by Turkish was *ulus* (not *ulur*).

FIELD NOTES ON THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE WESTERN SUDAN

BY W. E. N. KENSDALE

IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE in this journal ¹ the writer gave an account of the forming in the Library of the University College, Ibadan, of a collection of manuscripts representative of the indigenous Arabic literature of the Western Sudan, and from this collection and other sources compiled a list of the Arabic writings of Shehu Usumanu ḍan Fodio, the Reformer, founder of the Fulani empire. From the same sources it has been possible to list by title most of the Arabic writings of Usumanu's brother, Waziri Abdullahi ḍan Fodio.

Abdullahi was born in 1766. He appears to have remained in Usumanu's entourage until he achieved military distinction in the Fulani *jihād*. In 1808 the Shehu divided his territories between Abdullahi, his junior by fourteen years, and his son Muhammadu Bello. Abdullahi governed the western emirates from his capital Gwandu, and Bello the eastern emirates from Sokoto. On the Shehu's death in 1817, Abdullahi recognised Bello as his successor and the new *amīr al-mu'minīn*, but continued to rule his own territories as Emir of Gwandu. It is not certain whether the inception of the emirate should properly be dated to 1808 or 1817. In his later years Abdullahi, like his brother before him, delegated the control of his affairs to others (his son, Muhamman, and his nephew, Bohari) and devoted himself to study and writing. He died in 1828.

The list of his Arabic works below has been compiled in the same way as the earlier list of Usumanu's works; the same abbreviations have been used, and the attempt has similarly been made to note the libraries in which these manuscripts can be consulted.

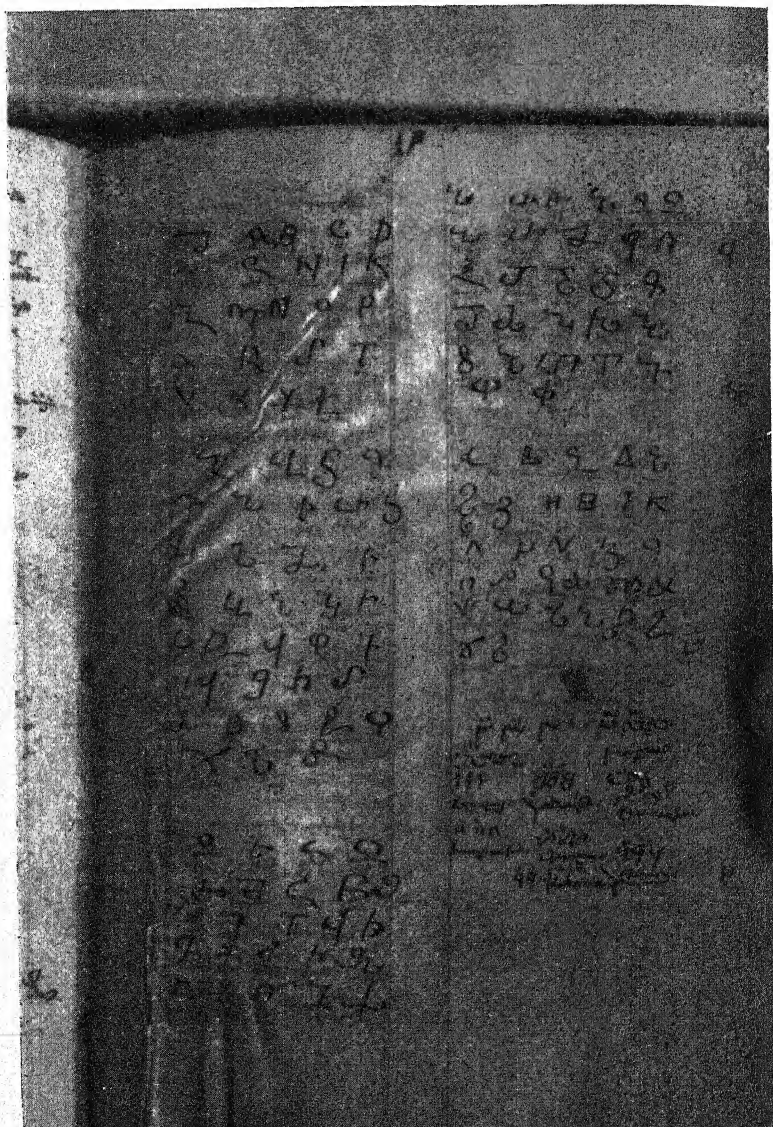
List of titles.

- (1) *ādāb al-'ādāt*. G. (W. attributes a work with this title to Usumanu.)
- (2) *asānīd al-bukhārī*. I.
- (3) *uṣūl al-'adl*. S. (Usumanu wrote a work with this title.)
- (4) *alfiyat al-uṣūl*. W., II.
- (5) *idāh az-zād*. S.
- (6) *bahr al-muḥīṭ fi 'n-naḥw*. K., L.
- (7) *al-baraka fi 's-sukūn wal-ḥaraka al-mausūma bi-'idā' an-nusūkh man afaḍtu 'anhu min ash-shuyūkh*. BN.

¹ Field notes on the Arabic literature of the Western Sudan. Shehu Usumanu ḍan Fodio. JRAS., 1955.

- (8) at-tibyān. G. (W. attributes a work of this title to Usumanu.)
- (9) takhmīs al-'ashrīyāt. II. (Probably a *takhmīs* of the 'Ashrīyāt of al-Fāzāzī which is very popular today throughout Northern Nigeria).
- (10) [takhmīs al-qaṣīda ad-dāliya fi madh an-anbī] I.
- (11) tazyīn al-waraqāt bi-jam' ba'd mā li min al-abyāt. I., L. (cf. GAL Suppl. II, p. 894. There are four mss. in the School for Arabic Studies, Kano, where Mr. Hiskett, an Education Officer, is preparing an edition of this work for publication. The Ibadan manuscript is imperfect.)
- (12) ta'lim al-anām. S.
- (13) taqrīb qarūrī ad-dīn. I., L.
- (14) talkhīṣ al-muḥammadiya. W.
- (15) thalālat [?] al-alfiya. W.
- (16) al-ḥiṣn ar-rasīn fi 'ilm at-taṣrīf. K., L. (W. *al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*.)
- (17) khulāṣat al-uṣūl. W.
- (18) darm al-kai'a. S.
- (19) dawā' al-waswās wal-ghaflāt fi 'ṣ-ṣalāt wa-qirā'at al-qur'ān wad-da'wāt. I.
- (20) sabīl ahl aṣ-ṣalāh. S., W.
- (21) sabīl an-najāt. I.
- (22) sirāj jāmi' al-bukhārī. L.
- (23) sa'ādat al-anām. G.
- (24) sulālat al-miftāḥ fi 'ilm at-tafsīr. L.
- (25) sharḥ al-'ashrīyāt. S. (see no. 9).
- (26) shifā' an-nās min dā' al-ghafla. S.
- (27) shukr al-iḥsān 'alā minan al-mannān li-man arāda shu'ab al-īmān. BN., K.
- (28) ḍau' al-muṣallī (*Al-manẓūma al-musammāt bi-ḍau' al-muṣallī. Aṭ-ṭab'a ath-thāniya*. Abeokuta, N.B. Press, [1953]. 75 + [1] p. 21 cm. The only work by this author to have been published in full).
- (29) ḍiyā' al-umarā'. S.
- (30) ḍiyā' al-imām. G., S., W.
- (31) ḍiyā' al-umma fi adillat al-a'imma. I.
- (32) ḍiyā' al-anām fi 'l-ḥalāl wal-ḥarām. I.
- (33) ḍiyā' ahl al-iḥtisāb 'alā ṭarīqat as-sunna waṣ-ṣawāb. BN. (as given in Vajda: *Index général*, etc.).
- (34) ḍiyā' ūlī al-amr wal-mujāhidīn fi sīrat an-nabī wal-khulafā' ar-rāshidīn. BN.
- (35) ḍiyā' al-bukhārī. S.
- (36) ḍiyā' at-ta'wīl fi ma'ānī at-tanzīl. 2 pts. L. (K. has pt. I only.)
- (37) ḍiyā' al-ḥukkām fimā lahum wa-'alāihim min al-aḥkām. BN., I (2 copies), L.
- (38) ḍiyā' as-sultān. G., S. (quoted in Hajj Sa'id's history of Sokoto, see *Tadkiret en-nisān . . . texte arabe éd. par O. Houdas*, etc. Paris, 1899. p. 205).
- (39) ḍiyā' as-sanad. G., S.
- (40) ḍiyā' as-siyāsāt wa-fatāwā an-nawāzil. BN., I. (imperfect), L.
- (41) ḍiyā' al-qawā'id. S.

- (42) *ḍiyā' al-mujāhidīn ḥumāt ad-dīn ar-rāshidīn*. I.
 (43) *ḍiyā' al-manjāt*. W.
 (44) *ṭarīq al-jādḍa*. G.S.
 (45) *ṭarīq al-janna*. S. (Usumanu ḍan Fodio wrote a work with this title.)
 (46) *ṭarīq aṣ-ṣāliḥīn*. G., S.
 (47) *'alāmāt al-mutabbi'in li-sunnat rasūl allāh*. I.
 (48) *farā'id al-jalīla*. W. } (There is probably a confusion here.)
 (49) *farā'id al-majīla*. S. }
 (50) *fawā'id al-lu'lu' al-maṣūn*. W. (See *al-lu'lu' al-maṣūn*, below.)
 (51) [*qaṣā'id*]. (Various poems attributed to his uncle are quoted or given in full in Muhammadu Bello's *Infaku' l Maiusri*. Edited... by C. E. J. Whitting, etc. London, 1951. These are to be found on pp. 33/34; 37/40; 76/77; 78/79; 92/93; 101/103; 109/110; 118/119; 121; 201. This information is given here as the text has been published without an index.)
 (52) [*al-qaṣīda ad-dāliya fī madḥ an-nabī*]. I.
 (53) *qaṣīdat 'abd allāh ibn fūdī ma' at-takhmīs*. I. (BN. ? cf. *Index général*, p. 542, *qaṣīda*.)
 (54) *kifāyat ḍu'afā' as-sūdān fī bayān tafsīr al-qur'ān*. 2pts. L. (K. has pt. I only.)
 (55) *kifāyat aṭ-ṭālib*. S., W.
 (56) *kifāyat aṭ-ṭullāb fī 'n-nikāh*. I.
 (57) *al-lu'lu' al-maṣūn fī 'ilm al-qawā'id*. I.
 (58) *lubāb al-mudkhal fī ādāb ahl ad-dīn*. I.
 (59) *la'āl al-mawā'iz*. W. (Probably for *la'ālī al-mawā'iz*.)
 (60) *lam' al-barq fī 'l-i'rāb*. K.
 (61) [*marthiya*]. BN.
 (62) *al-masā'il*. S. (Possibly to be identified with an anonymous ms. in the Ibadan collection, the true title of which is *ma'rifat al-aḥkām*.)
 (63) *al-masāliḥ*. S.
 (64) *masāliḥ al-insān*. II., S.
 (65) *maṭīyat az-zād ila 'l-ma'ād*. I.K.L.
 (66) *ma'rifat al-aḥkām* (see *al-masā'il*, above).
 (67) *miṭṭāḥ al-uṣūl*. II., S.
 (68) *miṭṭāḥ lit-tafsīr*. K., L.
 (69) *an-nasab*. S.
 (70) *an-naṣā'ih fī aḥamm al-masāliḥ*. L.
 (71) *naṣiḥat ahl az-zamān*. W. (G. and S. attribute a work with this title to Usumanu ḍan Fodio.)
 (72) *naẓm al-'aqīda al-wuṣṭā as-sanūsiya*. L.
 (73) *naẓm an-nuqāya*. II.
 (74) *nail al-marām*. II.
 (75) *an-niyāt fī 'l-a'māl ad-dunyawiya wad-diniyāt*. L. (This attribution is based on S. and II., as the ms. bears neither the name of the author nor the date of composition.)



From an Armenian manuscript in the H. Kurdian collection
written in 1580-1621.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED ALPHABET OF THE CAUCASIAN ALBANIANS.

BY H. KURDIAN

(PLATE III)

IN 1953 I WAS ABLE TO purchase an interesting late sixteenth-century Armenian manuscript written extensively on paper and beautifully illuminated and adorned with fine miniatures in colour and gold. This manuscript, now incorporated in my collection of Armenian manuscripts, contains a rare Armenian glossary with a wealth of linguistic and grammatical information and the most complete extant text of the arithmetical tables prepared originally by the great seventh-century Armenian scientist, Anania of Shirak. The part that interests us here, however, is that which depicts a number of different alphabets with the name of each letter transliterated into Armenian script. This part contains among others the alphabet of the Aġuank', the Caucasian Albanians, which, according to Koriwn,¹ was invented by St. Mesrop, the inventor of the present Armenian and Georgian alphabets. For fifteen hundred years the information given by Koriwn remained totally uncorroborated, for not a single character was found on stone, metal, vellum, or paper that could be recognized for sure as Caucasian Albanian.²

In 1938, however, two Georgian scholars, A. Shanidze and I. Abuladze, published two articles called *The newly discovered*

¹ "Then there came and met him (St. Mesrop) a priest of the Albanian nation named Benyamin, and inquiring from him and examining the barbarous words of the Albanian language he (St. Mesrop) formed alphabets in accordance with his heaven-given vigorous manner, and by the grace of Christ he successfully arranged and weightily established (the Albanian alphabet)". (Koriwn, ed. Venice, 1894, p. 29.)

² Twenty-one so-called Albanian letters contained in an Armenian manuscript dated 1535 were reproduced in N. Karamianz, *Einundzwanzig Buchstaben eines verlorenen Alphabets*, ZDMG.XL (1886), pp. 315 ff., but these are merely thinly disguised Armenian cryptograms; cf. Shanidze, *op. cit.*, *infra*, pp. 46, 47. The same can be said, says Shanidze, of the so-called Albanian alphabets in the Etchmiatsin MSS. Nos. 3124 and 2013. Shanidze thinks that a potsherd from Old Ganja, now contained in the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Azerbaidjan branch of the Academy of Sciences in Baku, may bear an Albanian inscription. A reproduction of this inscription is given on p. 61 of his article, but Professor H. W. Bailey points out (*Caucasica*, *JRAS.*, 1943, p. 4) that the published photograph is not clear enough to permit of comparison; cf. D. Diringer, *The Alphabet*, London, 1948, pp. 326-7, fig. 152.1.

alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians and its scientific significance and *The discovery of the alphabet of the Caucasian Albanians* respectively.¹ These articles contain a detailed description of MS. No. 7117 of Etchmiatsin which was copied by Yovhannēs of Arčēš² at the request of T'ovma Vardapet, Abbot of the Monastery of Metzob, from an original manuscript brought from the Armenian colony of Kafa in the Crimea³ by the Armenian Catholicos Kirakos of Virap (1441-42). The manuscript must have been copied prior to 1446, the date of T'ovma's death.⁴ Evidently MS. No. 7117 remained in the monastery of Metzob until the second half of the sixteenth century, when David Vardapet brought the manuscript with him to the Monastery of Baritzor in Khizan, where he loaned the manuscript free of charge to the scribe Yovhannēs who about 1580 copied from it the manuscript in my possession. When he died the manuscript was completed, illuminated, and decorated with miniatures in colours and gold in 1621. The original Kafa manuscript is lost to us; No. 7117 which was copied from it is in the State Library at Erivan (Armenian SSR) and my manuscript was copied in part from No. 7117.

To the existing knowledge on the subject may be added the fact that a reproduction of the Albanian alphabet is to be found in the manuscript in my private collection in Wichita, Kansas, U.S.A. The photograph accompanying this article shows the alphabet as

¹ A. Shanidze, *Novootkrytyj Alfavit Kavkazskix Albancev i ego Znachenie dlja Nauki*; I. Abuladze, *K Otkrytiju Alfavita Kavkazskix Albancev* (*Izvestija Instituta Jazyka, Istorii i Material'noj Kul'tury im. Akad. Marra Gruzinskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Vol. IV; the articles were published together as a separate offprint (Tiflis, 1938, pp. ii, 72) with summaries in Georgian and French); cf. G. Dumézil, *Une chrétienté perdue: les Albanais du Caucase* (*Melanges Asiatiques*, Paris, 1940-1, pp. 126 ff.).

² Yovhannēs is also known as Mankasarentz from his father's name, Mankasar. Some 232 manuscripts, of which only about twenty have reached our times, are attributed to his pen; perhaps less than ten, two of which are in my collection, are extant to-day.

³ Driven by the Seljuk invasions in the eleventh century many Armenian emigres from Ani and the other great cities of Armenia moved to the Crimea (Kafa, etc.), taking along with them large numbers of Armenian manuscripts. A. Shanidze (op. cit., p. 13) says that the State Literary Museum of Erivan contains more than forty manuscripts copied at Kafa from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century.

⁴ A. Shanidze, op. cit., p. 13.

it appears in my manuscript and the various fifty-two letters are named therein as follows :—

alt', odet', zim, gat, ēt, zavl,
 en, žil, t'as, ča, mud, ža, iob,
 ša, lan, ina, xēn, dan, čao, zox,
 kar, lit, hēt, hay, ar, çoy, či,
 čar, mak, kat, nuç, ĵay, čak',
 ĵayn, un, tay, xam, ĵay, čat, pewn,
 p'ew, kat, sēk, vēz, tiwr, soy,
 ion, caw, ĵayn, yayd, p'iwr, k'iw.¹

¹ The names of the letters in MS. No. 7117 in Hübschmann's system of transliteration would be as follows : alt', odet', zim, gat, ēb, zařl, en, žil, t'as, ča, yud, ža, irb, ša, lan, ina, xēn, dan, čar, zox, kar, lit, hēt, hay, ar, çoy, či, čay, mak, kar, nuç, ĵay, šak', ĵayn, un, tay, xam, ĵay, čat, pēn, p'ēs, kat, sēk, vēz, tiwr, soy, on, caw, ĵayn, yayd, p'iwr, k'iw ; Shanidze, op. cit., p. 28.

THE KOREAN BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

The Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was reconvened at a meeting held in Seoul on 23rd February, 1956. Mr. H. G. Underwood, formerly Vice-Chairman, gave a brief account of its history and objects. He recalled that its work had been interrupted by the second World War and had hardly been renewed before it was broken off by the Communist invasion of 1950. Pointing out that four of the nine members of the last Council had been captured by the Communists, and remembering in particular the late Rev. Charles Hunt, he said that a provisional Council had now been set up, with whose help it was hoped that a body of members would be recruited and a series of activities arranged.

Dr. George Palk, of the Chosen Christian University, read an interesting paper on a Korean Buddhist monk, Hei Cho, who travelled through India in the first quarter of the 8th century. A copy of his travel diary was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein, but had not previously been made public in the English language.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Central Asia

FENNO-UGRIC VOCABULARY. An Etymological Dictionary of the Uralic Languages. By BJÖRN COLLINDER. pp. xxii + 212. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1955. Sw. Kr. 39.

Professor Collinder's name is, of course, by itself an assurance of the excellent quality of this work, and English-speaking philologists will appreciate the compliment which he has paid them by writing it in perfect English. The main part of the book, which is preceded by a brief account of the various Uralian languages (I hope I may be forgiven for preferring this to the neologistic term Uralic, which I find as unattractive as, say, Indo-European would be), is two lists of words, the first of words which by reason of their wide distribution can fairly be described as PU (which, as Professor Collinder engagingly explains, can be expanded, according to taste, to Primitive, Primordial, or Proto-, Uralic) that is go back to a date before the various languages had begun to diverge, and the second of words which are less widely distributed but can fairly be described as PFU, that is go back to a date by which the Samoyed languages had broken away but the rest of the group was still intact. There follow (1) a list of PU words which are *prima facie* PIE (Proto-Indo-European) loanwords and (2) lists of PU and PFU words which are *prima facie* loanwords from Turkish, Mongolian or Tungus (Professor Collinder wisely refuses to commit himself on the theory of an Altaic family of languages), and (3) comprehensive word indices and a bibliography. Professor Collinder refrains from compiling a list of PFU (as opposed to PU) words which are *prima facie* PIE loanwords because in his view (which will be generally accepted) the presumed PIE language had long since fallen apart when the Samoyed languages fell away from PU. He would surely have been wiser also to eschew the task of finding "Altaic" loanwords even in PFU, let alone PU, since such evidence as exists, both archæological and literary, scanty though it is, shows fairly conclusively that there cannot have been any substantial contact between Turkish-speaking peoples (let alone Mongolian and Tungus speakers) and any speakers of Fenno-Ugric languages till the very last centuries before the Christian era at the earliest, by which time surely even PFU had ceased to exist. Professor Collinder's comparative Turkish material is, in fact, very unsatisfactory; this is no fault of his, it is the fault of us Turcologists for not having produced a historical dictionary of the language. In its absence he has had to find his Turkish material where he could, and many of the words he has found are not real old Turkish words, some for example are relatively recent Mongolian loanwords. Indeed, what he does seem to me to have

proved, and this is very important because, though long suspected, it has not been proved before, is that a number of so-called Turkish words are really loanwords from Uralian. This is true, in particular, of words peculiar to some of the North-Eastern (Siberian) dialects, which are notoriously spoken by people of Ugrian stock who about a hundred years ago were still speaking an Ugrian language. Where a word which is demonstrably PU or PFU is found in one or more modern Turkish languages, the direction of the loan is obvious. Where the word seems to exist in Turkish as early as the eighth century A.D., which is as far back as we can go with certainty, it still seems to me that a borrowing by Turkish from some Uralian language is the likelier hypothesis. This is only one of several problems for the consideration of which Professor Collinder's book will be of value to persons whose primary interests are outside the field of Uralian studies, and we are greatly indebted to him.

GERARD CLAUSON.

Far East

LA DOCTRINE DE NICHIREN. By G. RENONDEAU. pp. 332. Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Etudes. T. 58. Paris. 1953.

M. Renondeau follows up his translation of Nichiren's celebrated *Risshō Ankokuuron* in the T'oung Pao of 1950 with a fuller exposition of the doctrine of that vehement and intolerant Japanese "saint" and translations of six of his writings. Of the translations undoubtedly the most important is that of the essay entitled *Kaimokushō* or the Eye Opener, written during Nichiren's exile on the island of Sado and generally recognized to expound the essence of his creed. Among the other works translated in this volume are the *Sōmoku Jōbutsu Kuketsu*, an interesting letter written from exile to the disciple Sairembo on the controversial question of the Attainment of Buddhahood by Plants; the *Hokke Shūyōshō*, a short essay written in praise of the Lotus Sutra; and the *Kanjin Honzonshō*, another short work, which M. Renondeau considers to be an important supplement to the *Kaimokushō* in expounding the essentials of Nichiren's doctrine.

M. Renondeau gives a most useful preliminary "Exposé" of the doctrine, dealing particularly with its development from the teachings of the Tendai school and the great stress it lays on the importance of the Lotus Sutra. The copious footnotes will be of great use to any student of Japanese Buddhism, and the work will certainly rank as a valuable addition to those of Anezaki, Arthur Lloyd, and Sir George Sansom on that most noisy and exuberant of the Japanese sects.

C. BLACKER.

THE NIEN REBELLION. By CHIANG SIANG-TSEH. University of Washington Press, Seattle. 1954. pp. xvi + 159.

This book is a product of the Modern Chinese History Project of the University of Washington. It was presented as a doctoral thesis in 1951 and published, after the author's return to China, in its original form. As a result it is lacking in balance and is by no means easy reading, though it is a valuable contribution to a neglected topic which deserves wide attention.

The Nien rising has been overshadowed for the Western reader by the great T'ai-p'ing rebellion which preceded it, and in which many Westerners were personally involved. To the historian the Nien are perhaps the more interesting of the two movements, for they conformed much more closely to the pattern of traditional agrarian rebellions. Mr. Chiang has analysed the rising closely, concentrating on the social forces underlying the rebellion, and the military organization which was able to defy superior government forces for more than a decade.

In his social analysis the most interesting conclusions concern the part played by secret societies in the organization of the rebels and the social origins of their leaders.

The bulk of the volume deals with military organization. Mr. Chiang shows clearly how the Nien built up a flexible and mobile army based on fortified villages as strong points, and on cavalry for its striking force. After successive government commanders had failed to reduce the rebels by force, Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang eventually defeated them by astutely winning over the same local elements which had caused the rising, and organizing them into pro-government local forces. The author concludes that the rising was eventually suppressed not by a conflict between government troops and local forces, but by the conflict between two local forces, representing much the same elements in society, but with differing loyalties.

It is most unfortunate that the publication of this book coincided with the appearance in China of a six volume collection of source material on the rebellion entitled *Nien Chün*. (捻軍) This was compiled by a committee of eminent scholars including Chien Po-tsan, Nien Ch'ung-ch'i, Fan Wen-lan, and others for the Chung-kuo Shih-hsüeh-hui, and, in spite of grave shortcomings such as the omission of all material from the *Chiao-p'ing Nien-fei Fang-lüeh*, prints a great amount of new source material not available to Mr. Chiang. Since the *Fang-lüeh*, the official government account of the rising published in 1872, was one of the author's chief sources, the two works are to some extent complementary. But it is to be hoped that the work will be expanded later with the aid of the materials now available.

D. TWITCHETT.

ALLEGORY AND COURTESY IN SPENSER, A CHINESE VIEW. By H. C. CHANG. pp. x + 227. Edinburgh University Press. 18s.

This work falls into three parts : Part I consists of a translation of an allegory, "The Storming of the Passes of the Four Vices," from the romance *Ching Hua Yuan* ; Part II contains a comparative study of this allegory with Book II of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* ; Part III is an interpretation of Spenser's ideal of courtesy. To most readers, especially Western Orientalists, the second part should prove the most interesting. Here, Dr. Chang first studies allegory as a mode of expression and points out that while in Spenser allegory lies mainly in personifications of abstractions, in the Chinese romance it is presented by illustrations. He then goes on to account for this difference in method of presentation by showing the different attitudes of the European and Chinese minds towards temptations : whereas the former aims at *overcoming* them, the latter seeks to *transcend* them, and is therefore not engaged in an eternal moral conflict like the former. To the latter, emotional and moral conflicts have little reality ; hence their personification in literature is out of the question. These are but a few of the many illuminating things Dr. Chang has to say in his book, which is packed with patient scholarship and wise reflections. Not least of its admirable qualities is its modest and elegant tone, which may serve as an example of that ideal of courtesy which Dr. Chang so ably expounds.

J. J.-Y. LIU.

A CATALOGUE OF THE TOHOKU UNIVERSITY COLLECTION OF TIBETAN WORKS ON BUDDHISM. Edited by YENSHO KANAKURA, Litt.D., RYUJO YAMADA, Litt.D., TOKAN TADA, and HARUYU HADANO, M.A., and published by the Seminary of Indology, Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan, 1953.

This catalogue lists many important *dGe-lugs-pa* works, collected in Tibet by Tokan Tada. It is generally known that by far the greater part of Tibetan literature has been inspired by Indian Buddhism, which is well represented by those two great collections of translated works, the Kanjur and the Tenjur, but it is not always realized how great a contribution the Tibetans themselves have made. All the Buddhist orders in Tibet, the Ka-dam-pa (*bkaḥ-gdams-pa*) the Sa-kya-pa (*sa-skya-pa*), the three Ka-gyü-pa (*bkaḥ-rgyud-pa*), the Nying-ma-pa (*nyin-ma-pa*) and the Ge-luk-pa (*dge-lugs-pa*) have their own sets of acknowledged authorities, comprising the works of their own lamas and scholars. In scope this literature is as vast as that of medieval Christendom, and just as the Christian scriptures with their early commentaries and the secular traditions of Greece and Rome provided inspiration in the West, so the whole later Buddhist tradition of India together with the more secular pursuits of the various crafts, of medicine and alchemy,

provided the basic material for Tibetan culture. There are few scholars of Tibetan and naturally most of their time is still devoted to the canonical works. Following Waddell, Tibetan Buddhism is all too often lightly passed over as a mazy mixture of magic and sexual symbolism, not worthy of serious attention. See for example Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 150: "The final form of Tibetan Buddhism was established by the holy man, Atiśa, as a mixture of Buddhist magic and animism." It should be salutary to reflect that all the works listed in this catalogue from Tohoku University are later in time than the great Atiśa, that they represent a gradual flourishing of Tibetan genius, and they are concerned neither with "animism" nor "magic". Until Tibetan literature is better known let us be a little more circumspect in our estimation of it.

It would be superfluous to list the contents of this catalogue, but it is satisfactory to be able to report that the works included under headings II, III and IV, viz. those of Tsong-kha-pa and his two chief disciples, *rGyal-tshab Dar-ma Rin-chen* and *mKhas-grub dGe-legs-dpal-bzan-po*, were recently acquired by the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. If only there were a serious interest in Tibetan studies, comparable with the popular interest that the country seems to evoke! It certainly appears that far more Tibetan research is being done in Japan than anywhere else, and this catalogue is but one example out of several of the painstaking thoroughness of Japanese scholarship.

D. L. SNELGROVE.

LU SÜN : SA VIE ET SON OEUVRE. Par BERTA KREBSOVÁ. Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences. pp. 111, portrait frontispiece and five plates. Prague. 1953.

One disappointment to a Western student of Chinese is to find great lack of what may be called biography in the modern European sense. If he is interested in any historical figure he will have to do his own research among voluminous original sources. Rarely will he find a modern biography. Nor will he be much better off as regards the Republican period.

Of modern figures who have attracted the attention of the Chinese biographer, Lu Hsün has been luckier than most. Since his death in 1936 much has been written about him, and since the establishment of the People's Government he has become, even more than before, the object of a flourishing literary cult.

Berta Krebsová is clearly well acquainted not only with the writings of Lu Hsün, but also with all the Chinese biographical and critical material on the subject. The first part of the book consists of a sketch of Lu Hsün's life; the second part deals with his writings.

The place of Lu Hsün in Chinese literature is a question to be decided

primarily by the Chinese. But the extravagant praise bestowed on him by the official literary circles of Communist China may well appear so ridiculous to the non-Communist reader that he will be led, by way of reaction, to underrate Lu Hsün's merits as a writer. The present book, being written from the Communist point of view, naturally endorses the estimate of Lu Hsün now accepted in China. When it tells us of the difficulties and dangers experienced by Lu Hsün in his later years by reason of the Kuomintang reactionaries, one wonders what would be the fate in the People's China of any man of letters who tried to criticize the policy of the Peking government as Lu Hsün did that of the Nanking government.

This one-sided study of an involved period of Chinese political and literary history fails to communicate even remotely the characteristic savour of the milieu—especially of Shanghai in the 1930's. Let me give one example. Lu Hsün was probably more active than any other writer of his time in urging his countrymen to resist the Japanese. Naturally, at the time of the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931, he redoubled his appeals. His words, in the French of Mme Krebsová, were:—

“Je suis le premier à me placer aux côtés des combattants parce que je suis non seulement écrivain, mais aussi Chinois. J'en appelle à tous les écrivains et artistes, quelles que soient leurs opinions, et je les prie de suivre mon exemple et de se rassembler dans cette lutte contre le Japon.” Mme Krebsová does not however tell us that during the fighting between the Chinese and Japanese forces around Shanghai in 1932 Lu Hsün took refuge in the shop of Kanzō Uchiyama, the well-known Japanese bookseller. The standard life of Lu Hsün by Wang Shih-ching says: “On 30th January, as fighting was already going on in the region of North Szechuan Road, Lu Hsün moved temporarily into the Uchiyama Bookstore. On 6th February an employee of the bookstore, Mr. Seiichi Kamada, escorted him to the branch shop in Foochow Road, where he stayed till the fighting had died down.” This fact, which shows the close contacts between Lu Hsün and private Japanese, is surely worth mentioning, if only to introduce to the reader Mr. Kanzō Uchiyama, a devoted friend of Lu Hsün, and to this day a considerable figure in Sino-Japanese literary relations.

HENRY McALEAVY.

LA VERSION MÔNE DU NĀRADA-JĀTAKA. By PIERRE DUPONT. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XXXVI. pp. 281. Saigon. 1954.

Except for a short extract of *Milindapañhā* in the Schmidt *Festschrift*, we have hitherto had no publication representative of that large section of Mon literature which derives from Pali originals, though the

chronicles have been better served. The text now printed contains the Pali gāthās with a running version in Mon of both verse and prose parts, to which M. Dupont has added a translation and an index of such words and phrases as can be regarded as systematic translation-equivalents of Pali words; while in his introduction he examines, among other topics, the devices of what was a specialized translation-grammar. The numerous variant readings of the gāthās offer at least two plausible improvements of Fausböll.

It is not, then, to disparage this welcome addition to our repertory of texts that one questions some of the linguistic assumptions into which an exclusive preoccupation with the literary language has led its editor. There seems no justification for the marking by a hyphen of "compounds" for which no phonological, or other, criterion is stated. Again, the word-division is sometimes faulty: *ca kōw* and *pa datau*, for instance, are phrases, not prefixial formations. *Mān* is not the root of *dmān* but an orthographic variant, and *damān* "dwelling-place" is not an orthographic variant but a derivative; and *gmān* "brave" (p. 95) has nothing to do with these, being the attributive form of *gān*. Finally, Halliday's dictionary is not "pre-eminently concerned with the modern spoken language"; it designedly excludes it.

H. L. SHORTO.

TAKAYAMA UKON UND DIE ANFANGE DER KIRCHE IN JAPAN. By JOHANNES LAURES, S.J. pp. xii + 397 + sketch-maps. Aschen-dorffsche Verlagbuchshandlung, Münster im Westfalen, 1954. 26 German Marks.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN JAPAN. A Short History. By JOHANNES LAURES, S.J. pp. xii + 252; frontispiece, and map on end-papers. Charles E. Tuttle and Coy., Rutland, Vermont, 1954. Price \$2.50.

The indefatigable Jesuit historian of the Roman Catholic mission in Japan has added to the already vast bibliography on this subject these two works, the first of which is addressed to specialists and the second to the general reader. *Takayama Ukon* collects and sifts all the information available about the most famous of the Christian daimyō, whether in European or in Japanese sources. It will undoubtedly remain the standard biography of this remarkable man (1553-1615), even though it does not fully explain just why Christianity exercised such a fascination for a considerable number of Japanese at that time—but neither apparently does any other work. The second book is a sketch of the Roman Catholic mission in Japan from its inception by St. Francis Xavier in 1549 to the present day. It is one of the tragic ironies of history that the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki in August, 1945, virtually destroyed the historic Christian community of Urakami, thus accomplishing what centuries of Tokugawa persecution had failed to do.

Both works are naturally written from the Roman Catholic standpoint, but the author has taken due account of the research and findings of other workers in the same field who are not of his own faith.

C. R. BOXER.

ENNIN'S TRAVELS IN T'ANG CHINA. By EDWIN O. REISCHAUER. pp.xii, 341. Ronald Press Company, New York, 1955.

ENNIN'S DIARY: THE RECORD OF A PILGRIMAGE TO CHINA IN SEARCH OF THE LAW. pp. xvi, 454. Ronald Press Company, New York, 1955.

These two complementary volumes deal with one of the most important texts concerned with China during the ninth century. Ennin (圓仁), better known as Jikaku Daishi (慈覺大師) was a notable Buddhist monk who accompanied a Japanese tribute mission to China in 838, and remained in China until 847. During this period he kept a diary, the *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki* (入唐求法巡禮行記) which describes his experiences in vivid detail. The text has been utilized for several decades among Far Eastern scholars as a source for the obscure period of the Buddhist persecutions. In the *Real Tripitaka* Waley gave a few brief extracts, but they are confined to a small number of topics. The two excellent works of Professor Reischauer now present us with the whole of the material in a most readable translation. The volume *Ennin's Diary* is a complete and literal translation of the text with a very full commentary on points of detail and textual problems. The other, *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China*, is a very lengthy introduction to this translation, giving a succinct account of Ennin's career, of the Embassy with which he came to China, and of various other topics. There are chapters on life in contemporary China, on the bureaucracy, on popular Buddhism, on the persecutions of the Buddhist Church, and on the Koreans in China.

These volumes are particularly stimulating, as Ennin, being a foreigner, saw things from a very different viewpoint from that of the Confucian official historians to whom we owe most of our knowledge of the period. The material on Buddhism in particular is fascinating, for it is a first-hand account of actual practice, completely lacking the pious glosses and exaggerations of traditional Buddhist historiography, but yet it is from the hand of an extremely eminent churchman. It gives us a new light on the complex inter-relationship between State and Church, and completely alters the picture given in the Standard Histories of the Persecutions of 842 and of 844-845, which Ennin witnessed.

The material on the Koreans in China is also very valuable, for most of our knowledge about foreign communities in China during T'ang times concerns the Iranian communities in the sea-ports. The author has

demonstrated the importance of the Koreans in the sea trade north of the Yangtze mouth and in the Yellow Sea.

Professor Reischauer's two volumes must surely remain a standard work for many years, and will be an indispensable source for anyone wishing to understand day-to-day life in medieval China. Both volumes are admirably documented and written in a most distinguished style.

It is to be hoped that Professor Reischauer's example will stimulate some other scholar to undertake the even more difficult task of translating the diary of the monk Jōjin (成尋) entitled *San Tendai Go-dai san ki* (参天台五台山記). Jōjin's pilgrimage was made in 1072 and 1073, and he was a more accurate observer than Ennin in some ways; his diary would provide an interesting foreigner's view of China intermediate in date between Ennin and Marco Polo.

D. TWITCHETT.

THE LOVE SUICIDE AT AMIJIMA. By DONALD H. SHIVELY. [Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Ser: 15] pp. 173. Cambridge, Mass: 1953. 20s.

Mr. Shively has translated, with a copious introduction and notes, one of the best known of the *jōruri* or puppet plays of Chikamatsu Monzaemon—*Shinju Ten no Amijima*. One of the category of *sewamono* or "domestic plays", it provides an interesting complement to Dr. Keene's *The Battles of Coxinga*—a classic example of the other broad class of *jōruri*, the *jidaimono* or history plays. Unlike the *jidaimono*, which make free use of the fantastic and supernatural and which, to justify their improbability, lay their scenes in the dim, semi-legendary past, the *sewamono* deal in a much more realistic way with events close and possible to the lives of the eighteenth century merchant class in Osaka which constituted the *jōruri* public. *Shinju Ten no Amijima* is the story of a paper merchant and a courtesan who, caught between the conflicting claims of family obligations and love, resolve the dilemma by a double suicide—a predicament which, Mr. Shively tells us, was by no means uncommon in eighteenth century Osaka.

Mr. Shively's full introduction gives an interesting account of the development of Chikamatsu's *jōruri*, of the social and ethical background against which the plays developed, and of the customs and customers of the Gay Quarter in Osaka. Also a useful psychological commentary on the behaviour of the characters in the play—behaviour which might otherwise appear to Western readers to be entirely unaccountable. Particularly full, painstaking, and useful to the student of *jōruri* are the notes, which occupy as many pages as the translation itself and which, for example, adopt an ingenious tabular device for explaining the bewildering welter of puns and pivot words that characterize the play.

The translation is very accurate, though English ears may well be offended by such phrases as "a snack before breakfast", "Quit that song," and, from one of the lovers on the very edge of suicide, "Don't be jittery."

C. BLACKER.

A STUDY OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM. Being a translation into Japanese of the exposition of *vipaśyanā* in Tsoṅ-kha-pa's *Lam-rim Chen-mo*, with annotation and prefatory remarks (in Japanese). By GADJIN NAGAO IWANAMI SHOTEN. pp. lvi + 446. Tokyo. 750 yen.

The author of this book is Professor of Buddhism in Kyōto University. Various circumstances have delayed its publication. Only a limited use could be made of Professor Tucci's latest works, and Professor Demiéville's *Le Concile de Lhasa* has remained unknown to the author. This is a pity, for the Chinese monk Mahāyāna, who is in effect the hero of Professor Demiéville's book, figures many times in the *Lam-rim*, and Nagao's note upon him is in the present state of our knowledge quite inadequate.

The main part of this book consists of a translation into Japanese of part of one of the principal works of Tsongkhapa (1357 to 1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism. As a philosopher, Tsongkhapa was a reviver of past doctrines rather than an originator. He leans heavily upon Candrakīrti (seventh century) and Atīśa (eleventh century). In the controversial part of the book there is a curious unreality, owing to the fact that Tsongkhapa and the writers whom his quotes are continually sparring with the ghosts (Buddhist and non-Buddhist) of the Indian doctrinal past. The opinions of the Lokāyatas (an obscure non-Buddhist, anti-metaphysical sect) are elaborately confuted, as are also those of the Hīnayāna Vātsīputriyas. Not only was it remotely unlikely that a fifteenth century Tibetan would ever meet members of these sects (I imagine that even in India both were long ago extinct), but it is also that any member of either sect had ever at any period set foot in Tibet. Another feature of the *Lam-rim* (not of course peculiar to it) that makes it seem to the profane reader artificial and unreal is the extensive use of syllogisms and of the technical terminology of Indian logic alongside of arguments that seem to belong to a more primitive level of mentality. For example (p. 145) one must believe, we are told, that the *dharma*s have a certain degree of "existence" because those who believe otherwise "are insulting true religion, and will fall headlong into the Avīci Hell". Or again (p. 196), such a thing as *svarūpa* (self-form) must exist, for if it did not, why should the Bodhisattvas have taken so much trouble to get into contact with it? Moreover, Buddhist scripture (*āgama*) can always be quoted in support of an opinion, provided one is arguing with a Buddhist, though

not if one is arguing with a heretic, who has his own scriptures and does not accept those of the Buddhists.

The subject of the section translated by Professor Nagao is *Vipaśanā*, the Vision, which succeeds the achievement of *Samatha*, the Arrest of discursive perception. After a brief demonstration that *Samatha* alone cannot lead to Release, Tsongkhapa drops the subject of Arrest and Vision, to return to them only at the very end of the section, and even then in a very cursory way. The main subject, occupying several hundred pages, is the extent to which the *dharma*s "are". The school followed by Tsongkhapa represented a compromise between Nihilism and Materialism. The *dharma*s are void, but only in the sense that they lack "self-existence" (*svabhāva*). This compromise perhaps represents the pressure of the Sarvāstivādins on an early completely Nihilist school. Every possible wrong view both in the direction of complete Nihilism and of extreme Materialism is combatted, and it is chiefly by this negative process that the Middle View becomes apparent. Much of the argument is evidently obscured in the original by the fact that later Buddhism accepted the existence of two Truths, a Worldly and a Transcendental. Such a belief theoretically demands that every proposition should be qualified as applying to Wordly Truth, Transcendental Truth or both. Indian and Tibetan writers, however, constantly fail to complicate their statements by such qualifications, and in the present case the translator has been forced, in the interests of clarity, frequently to insert in brackets "from the Worldly point of view" or "from the Transcendental point of view" or "from both points of view".

This book ought, of course, to have been reviewed by a Tibetanist, but no Tibetanist who also knows Japanese seems to be available. I cannot of course express any opinion about the accuracy of Professor Nagao's translation. It certainly gives the impression of being close and careful. The book includes a long introduction dealing with Tibetan Buddhism in general, and with Tsongkhapa's life and writings. There are indices of proper names and technical terms and several valuable appendices, including a list of Tsongkhapa's works. There is also a ten-page synopsis in English, translated from Japanese by Leon Hurvitz.

ARTHUR WALEY.

THE CHINESE GENTRY. Studies on their Role in Nineteenth-century Chinese Society. By CHUNG-LI CHANG. Introduction by FRANZ MICHAEL. xxi + 250 pp. University of Washington Press. Seattle. 1955. \$5.75.

This book contains a vast amount of information, much of it in tabular or statistical form, about officials and also about holders of literary Degrees who were not officials; but it suffers from the vagueness of the

term *chin-shên*, here translated "gentry". The word had at least three meanings: (1) local people who held a Degree, but were not officials; (2) the class consisting of (a) officials, (b) holders of Degrees who were not officials; (3) officials, as opposed to those who merely held Degrees; as seen, for example in the title of the handbooks to officialdom called *Chin-shên Lu*, *Chin-shên Ch'üan-shu*, and so on, where *Chin-shên* is merely a literary equivalent to *kuan*, "official." Thus, meaning (1) is almost the exact opposite of meaning (3). Mr. Chang does not seem ever to make this clear. Franz Michael in his introduction says it is better to use the term "gentry" rather than retain the Chinese term *chin-shên*, because gentry "has already been in use and has more meaning for Western readers". But the meanings it has are almost all wrong ones. To be a gentleman (or as Mr. Chang more sociologically says, "a member of the gentry group") is with us a question of birth; it does not imply being an official or the holder of a literary Degree, and on the other hand it does imply the use of a particular upper-class dialect. In all these ways the term gentry or its cognates fail to correspond to the term *chin-shên*. Incidentally the book which did most to popularize the rather archaic and often facetious term "gentry" as an equivalent to *chin-shên* is not mentioned by Mr. Chang. I refer to Ch'êng Hsi-kung's *Modern China, a Political Study*, published at Oxford in 1919.

A more manageable subject of study would perhaps have been the influence, in local life, of those holders of Degrees who were not officials. These local (*hsiang*) *chin-shên* were a class that had no counterpart in other civilizations. A man might be well-born, well-off, a learned Confucian and yet not count as belonging to it. One thinks of a scholar such as T'eng Yü, who planned the *Gazeteer of Honan* in 1767. He held no Degree or official post. But he was emphatically in birth, education, and social status what we should call a gentleman, and consorted on equal terms with many leading scholars and officials. In Chinese terminology, however, he was a *pu-i* (cloth-jacketed person), not a *chin-shên*. But perhaps one could be, in loose phraseology, at any rate both a *pu-i* and a *chin-shên*. That is a question which the author, if he had made closer definitions, might well have found it useful to discuss. But despite a certain nebulousness as regards the key-term of the book, it is a fine piece of research, punctiliously documented and exhibiting an immense range of learning.

A. WALEY.

TRADE AND DIPLOMACY ON THE CHINA COAST. The Opening of The Treaty Ports. By JOHN KING FAIRBANK. (Harvard Historical Studies. Vols. 62 and 63.) pp. xiii + 489 and pp. iii + 88. Geoffrey Cumberledge, London. 60s. each.

This book might be described as a learned and brilliant product of Anglo-American scholarship inasmuch as its American author was

educated both at Harvard and at Oxford, was introduced to the subject of Anglo-Chinese relations by Sir Charles Webster, studied the British official documents in the Public Record Office, and has based his book on those documents and on all previous British and American studies of this topic (Morse, Costin, Wright, Pritchard, Owen, and Greenberg). It is however much more than just another Western interpretation of the opening-up of China by Great Britain in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, for 25 years ago when Professor Fairbank began this study he was persuaded by Sir Charles Webster to learn the Chinese language and to approach the history of China's foreign relations by way of Peking as well as via London and Washington. His book is therefore based also on an examination of Chinese documents in Peking and of the writings of contemporary and more recent Chinese. It is thus the first fully balanced study of this subject that has been made.

Professor Fairbank's book is also much more than its title proclaims. Not only is it a history of the evolution of the treaty system on the China coast, its extension, its gradual breakdown, and the beginning of its resuscitation through the creation of the Foreign Inspectorate of Customs at Shanghai in 1854, but light is thrown on a number of topics (the tea trade, the traffic in opium, China's commerce with South-East Asia), and the whole is characterized by vignettes of the main actors in the drama (Bonham, Bowring, Ch'i-ying, I-li-pu). But perhaps most interesting of all are those parts of the book in which Professor Fairbank puts his history of the opening of the treaty ports in its Chinese setting. It is his view that China's response to the West was determined most of all by the peculiar nature of her state and society and that the key to the political collapse of China lies within. His study therefore begins with an analysis of those peculiarities of the Chinese state which made it "uniquely inadaptably to the Western scheme of things" (p. 6) and ends by showing that the "Sino-Western synarchy of the treaty port era was by no means a purely Western creation . . . the final arrangements of the treaties were actually in line with Chinese tradition" (p. 466).

The second volume of this scholarly work is devoted to reference notes and a bibliography.

Professor Fairbank's book, along with his earlier study "The United States and China" and his more recent collaboration with his Chinese colleagues in the department of History at Harvard in the production of the two volumes entitled "China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923", establish him as the most distinguished Western authority on the modern history of China.

IFOR B. POWELL.

THE NINE SONGS. A Study of Shamanism in Ancient China. By ARTHUR WALEY. pp. 64. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 10s.

Dr. Waley prefaces his translation of *Ch'u Tz'u* with an account of

China's shamanism from the third century B.C. down to the fourteenth century A.D. Brief as it is, the account provides definitive details that enlarge Professor Eliade's recent descriptions in *Le Chamanisme*. As far away as Malaya there are parallels for many of them, the hereditary nature of the shaman's office, his disqualification for any official post, his several functions and occasional dishonesty, the eligibility of women to be shamans, the rites in honour of the country's deities. But what Dr. Waley considers to be a unique characteristic of the cult in the Nine Songs is that "the shaman's relation with the Spirit is represented as a kind of love-affair". Yet in Malaya the shaman into whose body the "Princess" spirit enters has a chief assistant called the bridegroom, and an uncorroborated Trengganu version talks of the marriage symbolism. In all the Nine Songs the spirit descends and there is no trace of the shaman's ascent across a rainbow bridge to heaven. Furthermore, though possession is sometimes considered a feature peculiar to Indian shamanism, Dr. Waley notes how from the second century A.D. it is regarded as the typical form of the Chinese cult, a borrowing coeval with the advent of Buddhism, if indeed the idea of spirit-possession came from India.

The Chinese genius for poetry lifts these songs above ordinary invocations. Does the poetical language sometimes conceal the crudity of a superstition? Take some gorgeous lines from Song VIII:—

In his fish-scale house, dragon-scale hall

Portico of purple-shell, in his red palace

What is the Spirit doing, down in the water?

Is this a poetic conceit? or is the Spirit represented as dwelling in a palace that recalls Plato's miniature archetypes, like the palace of the Sultan of Minangkabau, whose pillars were figured to be of tiny nettle-stems.

In line 5 on page 53, Dr. Waley writes of "red leopards" but on p. 55 they have become albinos.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Far East

THE EMPIRE OF MIN. By EDWARD H. SCHAFER. Chas. E. Tuttle and Co., Rutland Vermont and Tokyo, 1954. pp. xii + 146.

Until the T'ang dynasty Fukien remained a backwater largely untouched by Chinese culture, and although it was actively colonized throughout that period, it was still looked upon as an outlying, semi-barbarous region—it was one of the main sources of eunuch boys for the imperial household. In the tenth century a warlord who had arisen in the anarchy following the peasant revolts at the end of the T'ang established a petty kingdom there known as Min. For a brief space

of time its rulers even claimed the titles and honours of Sons of Heaven ; until they were overthrown by internal dissensions and the encroachments of more powerful neighbours to the north.

Professor Schafer has gathered together all the information he can muster from a considerable variety of sources about this petty kingdom. Since all too much of Chinese historical writing is centred on the capitals of the great empires, one welcomes such a regional study, even though, inevitably, the result is something of a scrapbook—the subject has only a fleeting and evanescent unity unless placed in the background of the history of China as a whole in the tenth century. One is grateful for the many interesting titbits of information dug out with much exercise of scholarly acumen and felicitously presented. While it must be confessed that the court history of the rapid succession of Min rulers, most of whom died violent deaths, grows a little tedious, the description of Fukien, its flora and fauna, its cities and countryside, its economy and arts, is full of interest.

Some important questions have not been touched upon. What, for example, was the relation between the native Fukieneese and the immigrants from the north ? Is it possible to distinguish the two groups ? What was the organization of land-holding and agricultural production ? Was there a local gentry and, if so, what relationship if any existed between it and the warlords ? These are questions which, in the light of the general history of the tenth century in China, one would very much like to be able to answer. It is probable that they are ignored by Professor Schafer only because his sources are too few and fragmentary to enable him to deal with them but it is to be hoped that studies will be made of other better documented regions during the same period.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

Near and Middle East

SOME RECORDS OF ETHIOPIA (1593–1646). Being Extracts from THE HISTORY OF HIGH ETHIOPIA OR ABASSIA, by MANOEL DE ALMEIDA together with BAHREY'S HISTORY OF THE GALLA. Translated and edited by C. F. BECKINGHAM and G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD. pp. xcvi + 267. Hakluyt Society, London, 1954.

This volume contains extract translations from Father Manoel de Almeida's Portuguese *Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia* (1628–1646) and Bahrey's *History of the Galla* (1593), written in Ethiopic. Messrs. Beckingham and Huntingford have based their translation of Almeida's work on a MS. in the library of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, while their rendering of Bahrey's Galla book is largely derived from Guidi's French translation (C.S.C.O., 1907). It is, therefore, a little odd that they should describe Budge's translation of the

same work (*History of Ethiopia*, vol. ii, pp. 603 ff.) as "a not very satisfactory version" (p. xxxvi), since both Budge and the present editors have relied on Guidi's French translation rather than on the Gə'ez original of this peculiar little work. Examination of the British Museum MS Or. 534 containing the Ethiopic text of Bahrey's history impresses one with the need for a proper study of the original, which in language, style, and genre seems to betray the imprint of a foreign pen, perhaps in very much the same manner as the *Hatata Zar'a Ya'qob* were shown (by C. Conti Rossini) to have been the work of a European scholar.

The translations are accompanied by a bibliography (which could with advantage have been a little fuller), a very useful introduction, an excursus on the ethnology and history of S.-W. Ethiopia, some fine maps and a number of appendices—altogether a helpful and competent book.

That a work of such wide scope should require some corrections in points of detail is scarcely surprising; only a few can be mentioned here: The system of transcription (p. xlviii) will worry every *éthiopisant* and every linguist. The statement that "Ethiopic is not a satisfactory language in which to discuss" monophysite doctrine (p. xxiv) is scarcely meaningful. That "comparatively few sites in Ethiopia have a long record of continuous habitation" (p. xlvi) seems quite unsubstantiated. Huntingford's fine excursus might have utilized Maqrizi's *Ilmām* (p. xcii). Footnote (1) on p. 6 would have benefited from acquaintance with E. Mittwoch's note on *Janhoy* in *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, 1911. For footnotes (1) on pp. 29 and 63, compare *Scott. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1953, p. 134, footnote 10, and p. 141 respectively. The Gazetteer is interesting and useful—except for some very disturbing spellings. Ethiopic and Amharic words in the otherwise excellent notes are not infrequently misspelt or quoted in an ungrammatical form (*Fequr Egzi'e*, p. xxxviii; *dabra*, p. 122; and others). The reference (on p. xxxv) to Wright's *Catalogue of Eth. MSS. in the B.M.* should be corrected to read "p. 84".

But all these are minor blemishes in a work which deserves to be warmly welcomed.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF.

VILLAGE PERSE-ACHÉMÉNIDE. By R. GHIRSHMAN. *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran*, Tome XXXVI, pp. 102, figs. 11, pls. liii. Paris, 1954.

The work of the Mission de Susiane, interrupted by the war, was resumed in 1946 under the direction of Dr. R. Ghirshman. One of the first tasks undertaken was an investigation of Tell IV at Susa, the report on which is offered in the present volume. The results obtained provide important evidence of the first settlement of Persian tribes in

South-West Iran and so help to bridge the gap between the proto-historic civilizations of the country, as known from Sialk, Luristan, and Giyan, and the historic civilization of the Achæmenid Empire.

The excavations uncovered a house built on virgin soil and twice reconstructed. Elamite and Akkadian tablets found in association indicate that its occupation began at the end of the eighth or early in the seventh century B.C. and came to an end shortly before or soon after the conquest of Persia by Alexander. It was of unusual size for a village and Dr. Ghirshman suggests that it was inhabited by a clan or large family, the members of which continued to reside there on marriage, a social organization which he connects with the transition from a nomadic to a sedentary existence. Since the pottery, metal-work, and other objects of the earliest level have comparatively few affinities with Elamite civilization but are closely related to the material of the Luristan tombs and Cemetery B at Sialk, Dr. Ghirshman attributes the foundation of the Susa village to Persian tribesmen who moved down from the Iranian plateau towards the end of the eighth century B.C. The objects recovered, although undistinguished, have a special interest since they are the first known examples of the popular art of the Achæmenid period. Like the royal art, this reflects the influence of the superior civilizations with which the Persians were in contact in the course of their history. In particular it provides further evidence of Anatolian and Aegean influences during the early stages of their migration, a subject discussed in detail by Dr. Ghirshman.

J. M. MUNN-RANKIN.

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES OF ETHIOPIA. By EDWARD ULLENDORFF. pp. xiv + 273. Taylor's Foreign Press. London, 1955.

The core of this work is an exhaustive analysis of the phonology of the modern Semitic languages of Ethiopia, presented with admirable clarity. Extensive personal contacts with a large number of speakers of Tigre, Tigrina, and Amharic have enabled the author often to correct the data given by previous investigators, specially where these were based on material supplied by only one or two informants. Of particular interest is his thesis that the "traditional" pronunciation of Ge'ez is only a reflex of the speech-habits of the speaker's modern vernacular.

In his final chapter the author attacks the problem of whether the modern vernaculars can all be descended from a single parent, or whether (as has sometimes been asserted) we are obliged to postulate two independent parent-languages. His conclusion (p. 224) that "nothing has come to light that prevents us from assuming that one Semitic language, perhaps in very slightly varying forms, was imported into Africa from South Arabia" and that this constitutes the basis of all the modern tongues, seems to be justified by the evidence he produces.

Consequently, as he remarks (p. 229), "it is meaningless to refer to Tigrina and Tigre as North Ethiopic and to Amharic, Harari, and Gurage as South Ethiopic, unless these terms are merely applied to the present habitat of the respective languages" (and not to any historical or genetic division).

It is also of great interest that the author follows Mittwoch in asserting (p. 159) that the Ethiopic vowels "all express qualitative distinctions: quantity has no place in this scheme at all". The same is true of the modern South Arabian languages; probably also of Hebrew, and possibly of Accadian. The only Semitic language in which we have clear evidence for vowel-quantity possessing phonemic significance is Arabic. It would be worth while surveying thoroughly the problem as to whether quantitative distinctions as such really played any part in the "Ursemitisch" vowel system.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

THE HARAN GAWAITA AND THE BAPTISM OF HIBIL-ZIWA (= *Studi e Testi* 176). By E. S. DROWER. The Mandaic text reproduced together with translation, notes, and commentary. In 8°, xi, 96 pp., plus facsimile of texts. Vatican City, 1953.

Lady E. S. Drower, foremost authority on the Mandeans, renders yet another important service to Mandaic studies in publishing these two texts.

The Haran Gawaita is of special interest because it treats of the origin of the Mandeans. The emphasis on the Jordan, the Haurān, Jerusalem, etc., point to Palestine. Some of their prominent traditions refer to early Christianity. They venerate John the Baptist but have an antipathy toward Jesus. The discovery of Jewish sectarian literature west of the Dead Sea from around the first Christian century reopens discussion of the origin of Christianity. This involves Mandaean origins as well; for Mandeans, Christians, and sectarian Jews of the "Dead Sea type" are all facets of the same historic question. But Dr. Drower (pp. v-xi) now points out another aspect of the Mandaean problem: connections with Media.

The matter before us, like all problems of Near East people after the Assyrian deportations and the transfers of populations thereafter in Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenian, and Hellenistic times, hinges on the fact that any ethnos is not likely to be geographically limited, but rather spread over the "127 provinces", "from India to Ethiopia", as the Book of Esther (1, 1; 3, 8) says of the Jews. The simultaneous Palestinian and Iranian connections of the Mandeans are no more surprising than those of the Jews. The Mandaic influence on the Manichean Coptic Psalms of Thomas need not be entirely due to the common Iranian background of both Mandaeanism and Manicheanism. Mandeans may have been in Egypt, even as Jews were. The Mandaean

Ptahil "a demiurge, creator of the material world" (p. 34, n. 3) is I think, clearly composed of Egyptian "Ptah" and Semitic "Il" ("god"). The identification with Egyptian Ptah does not rest solely on phonetic resemblance. In the Memphite theology, Ptah is the creator: "He who made all and brought the gods into being" (see J. Wilson, apud J. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, Princeton, 1950, p. 5).

The Mandeans are the dwindling remnant of a large and influential movement whose origins hark back to the Hellenistic Age. Like other important religious innovators in the Hellenistic East, the Mandeans are not to be localized in either Palestine or Iran, or even in both. They doubtless moved extensively in the Hellenistic World between the Iranian Plateau and the Nile Valley; and perhaps beyond. Their early spread had much in common with that of their Jewish and Christian contemporaries. Their failure to compete successfully in the race for survival goes hand in hand with the localization of the modern Mandeans that is in such sharp contrast with the wide demographic distribution of the Jews and Christians.

The day is not far off when Mandaean studies will again be in the limelight because of their bearing on early Christianity. This book, like all of Lady Drower's works on the Mandeans, will facilitate study of the subject on a level much higher than was possible before she enriched it with such singleminded devotion and scholarly distinction.

CYRUS H. GORDON.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEMITIC AND EGYPTIAN VERBAL SYSTEMS.

By T. W. THACKER. pp. xxvi + 341. Geoffrey Cumberlege. Oxford, 1954. 42s.

This book is important. Professor Thacker has made a complete reanalysis of the morphology of the Egyptian verb in its earliest forms in the light of recent theory concerning the development of the Semitic verb, with the intention of settling the original nature of the much-discussed relationship between Egyptian and the Semitic languages. He concludes that they are offshoots of the same parent system, which parted at an early stage of development and continued their growth independently.

His method is to discuss the syntax and employment, inflexion, structure, and vocalization of verb forms of parallel employment, first in the Semitic dialects, Akkadian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, then in Old and, where necessary, Middle Egyptian, with a view to reconstructing their appearance and vocalization in "Proto-Semitic" (usually in accordance with Professor Driver's views) and "Proto-Egyptian". The reconstructed forms are then succinctly

compared. The setting-out is systematic, and the exposition clear; the appearance and accuracy of the letterpress are a credit to author, publisher, and printer.

The dangers inherent in this method are not entirely avoided by Professor Thacker. However, his preliminary account of the function of the weak consonants and the principles of vocalization from consonantal skeletons appear balanced and sound, and has led him to a clever and almost certainly correct analysis of the dissimilated forms of Egyptian biliteral and anomalous verbs. Two striking and plausible discoveries, namely, that Egyptian had two infinitives, one "absolute", one "construct", and that the *Šdm.t-f* form may be a gerundive use of a participle, stand out, but novel suggestions about derivations abound. Notable is the insistence on the original modal significance of the Egyptian suffix conjugation. Syntactical exemplification of the morphological conclusions is now required.

Though its conclusions are of interest to all linguists and to pre-historians, the book is of primary importance to the Egyptian philologist.

H. S. SMITH.

STUDIES IN ARABIAN FATALISM. By HELMER RINGGREN. pp. 225.
(Uppsala University Årsskrift, 1955, 2.)

In this valuable study of the Islamic attitude to man's destiny, "fatalism" is defined as meaning that "all things are arbitrarily decreed by fate", thus excluding the Muslim doctrine that everything is predetermined by God. It is based mainly on Arabic poetry.

There is ample proof in Pre-Islamic poetry that fatalism was accepted, but this could be combined with a belief in God (or gods) Muhammad could not accept such ideas, since he believed that God is the indisputable Master of destiny, but in spite of Quranic teaching, some fatalistic conceptions are still found in the Traditions.

Professor Ringgren finds in the Abbasid writers, notably Ma'arrī, a fatalistic outlook, but the juxtaposition of God and Fate meant no contradiction to many of them. The Sūfis solved the problem differently. To them God is the only active power in the universe; no other can give or withhold, create or support, but He alone. This is a strict determinism, but while the mystic feels wholly dependent on God for everything, there is an active and positive assent to God's will and man reaches out to His gifts.

While in later Muslim literature there are indications of fatalism, yet the conclusion is that God and Fate have merged into one.

The book is well documented and has a full bibliography. The index omits "Sūfism" and "mysticism", both dealt with in the text.

MARGARET SMITH.

STUDIES IN MIDDLE ASSYRIAN CHRONOLOGY AND RELIGION. By HILLEL A. FINE. pp. xiii + 151. Cincinnati, 1955.

This book was first printed in the form of two articles in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Volumes XXIV and XXV. Its publication as a separate volume is to be welcomed.

From the Middle Assyrian period we possess a large number of legal and business documents, mainly from the excavations at Assur. The personal names found in these documents were collected by Ebeling in *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XIII, part 1 (1939), and a perusal of this material suggested to Weidner that during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, and as a result of that king's conquest of Babylon, the cults of Babylonian deities, especially that of Marduk, were introduced into the Assyrian capital. At the instigation of Professor Julius Lewy, Dr. Hillel Fine has undertaken to test this theory by an exhaustive investigation of the chronology of these documents, in order to ascertain whether the fashion for Babylonian names at Assur really started during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I or not. His study is a careful and scholarly piece of work, limited in scope indeed, but none the less valuable for that. As a by-product of the investigation the genealogy and activities of certain prominent merchants of the period begin to emerge. But its main result is to show that the increasing popularity of Babylonian theophorous names at Assur can be traced as part of a continuous trend throughout the period, from the reign of Assur-uballit onwards, and did not receive any noticeable stimulus during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. It was a trend towards cosmopolitanism: Adad, a god with no particular local affiliations, gradually takes the place of the formerly pre-eminent national god Assur, and there is a great increase in Hurrian influence. The truth is thus less dramatic than the theory proposed by Weidner, but as Dr. Fine remarks, "it is only by close attention to gradual trends that any form of human development is to be understood." The book concludes with an appendix of twenty-seven pages containing a list of corrections to Ebeling's work.

O. R. GURNEY.

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH KHAZARS. By D. M. DUNLOP. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1954. pp. xv + 293. Price (in England) 40s.

The Khazars were one of several Turkish-speaking and other nomadic tribes that made their way from Central Asia into South-Eastern Europe in the second half of the first millennium A.D.; they were, so far as we know, completely illiterate; they struck no coins, and have left no inscriptions; nothing that can be described as a Khazar

culture has ever been identified in the archæological record ; the only indisputably Khazar site that has so far been excavated, Belaya (or Bela) Vezha, is small and unimpressive, and most of the objects recovered from it belong not to the Khazar period but to the period after it was captured by the Russians in the second half of the tenth century. They must, it is true, have had some military significance, at any rate in the eighth century, since Justinian II, when in exile at Kherson in about A.D. 704 thought it worth while to marry a daughter of the Khazar kagan in the hope that his father-in-law would help him to recover his throne ; and in A.D. 732 Leo III, the Isaurian, who was suffering acutely from Arab aggression, found it politically expedient to marry his son and heir to another daughter of a Khazar kagan, and the lady became in due course Empress and mother of Leo IV, " the Khazar ". But even so, dispassionately considered, the Khazars made very little impact on the history of their times ; perhaps the best assessment of their real significance is B. A. Rybakov's in his article (in Russian) " on the role of the Khazar Kaganat in the history of Rus ", in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* xviii (Moscow, 1953).

Nevertheless, for various reasons too complicated to explain here, some European scholars have regarded the Khazars as a people of great significance in European history and devoted a great deal of attention to them. Mr. Dunlop is the latest representative of this school. He has collected with great industry a vast amount of material on the subject, mainly from Islamic and the older European authorities, and has devoted a great deal of energy to their co-ordination and interpretation ; some of his work shows real scholarly ability, for example his proof by grammatical analysis that the various items in the Hebrew " Khazar correspondence " are by different hands. To that extent his work is of permanent value, but his estimate of the real importance of the Khazars is so exaggerated that parts of his narrative give the impression of bearing not much more relation to the true facts than do, say, the stories about Harun ar-Rashid in the Arabian Nights.

For this there are two reasons. First, he is too kindly in handling his sources. True, he dismisses some of their stories as too tall to be believed, but not nearly enough. This takes us to the second reason, his apparent lack of certain kinds of knowledge which are essential for anyone who wishes to handle with confidence the kind of material which he has accumulated.

He does not seem to have given nearly sufficient attention to the geography or physical characteristics of the area occupied by the Khazars. Any Russian elementary school geography would have shown him that if, as Işākhri says, the town of Itil was in two parts divided by a river, that river cannot have been the Volga, which in its lower reaches is several miles wide at low water and much wider in the spring floods. Similarly the story (p. 82 and following) of Marwan

chasing the Khazars across the Volga, routing them there and converting them to Islam on the spot is obviously preposterous.

Again he does not seem to have made an adequate study of the history of contiguous and related peoples. For example, Mr. Ghirshman's book *Les Chionites—Hephthalites* (Cairo, 1948) would have saved him from much error and confusion about that people and the Kidarites. His knowledge of Turkish linguistics and early history seems to be inadequate, though he is perhaps not greatly to blame for confusing the Uyğur and the Oğuz since it has only recently been recognized that references to peoples with names like this prior to the eighth century must almost certainly be to Oğuz, and not Uyğur.

Finally he has paid very little attention to the archaeology of the area. He does, it is true, refer in his text (though not in his bibliography) to Mr. I. Artamonov's book on the subject dated 1937, in which incidentally many views are expressed which are now abandoned, but he seems to be completely ignorant of the more recent achievements of Soviet archaeology. For example, he has obviously never heard of Artamonov's article on Belaya Vezha in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* xvi (Moscow, 1952), or of the previous reports on the excavation of that site of which it is a summary, for in footnote 73 on p. 186 he says that the exact site is doubtful.

Obviously points like the location of Itil and Belaya Vezha, though significant, are not of major importance, but it is not a minor error to regard the Khazar kağans as equal in quality and importance to the Byzantine Emperors and the Caliphs, with practically uncontested authority over a solid block of territory running from Kiev to the Oxus and from Derbend to the junction of the Volga and Kama.

The fact that Mr. Dunlop holds this view naturally raises the question whether he has examined with sufficient scepticism the various sensational and conflicting stories of the conversion of the Khazar kağans and their immediate entourage to Judaism. That some Khazars adopted Judaism, or alternatively that some Jews adopted the Turkish language, seems indisputable, since the most obvious explanation of the survival to the present day of a few thousand Turkish-speaking Karaim, mainly in the Crimea, is that they are the descendants of "Jewish Khazars". Incidentally, if this is so the Khazars must have spoken an ordinary North-Western Turkish closely allied to Koman and Kipchak and the place-names like Sarkel and Sarıg'sın, which are adduced as evidence that they spoke an I/r Turkish must have been inherited from the Bulgars or some other tribe speaking that dialect. But it is a long way from the Karaim to accepting the story that the kağans and their immediate entourage were converted to Judaism. There is some evidence that the kağans had Jewish secretaries to do their reading and writing for them; and indeed the Jewish merchants who moved into the Khazar country in pursuit of trade or to avoid

persecution were probably the only people in the area who could be enlisted for these duties. Until some much more positive evidence can be produced than narratives written long after the events they purport to describe—say Khazar royal burials with Jewish symbols, it seems more prudent to suppose that the accounts of the conversion of the kağans rest on nothing more solid than the existence of such Jewish secretaries and perhaps stories put about by them that their masters shared their faith.

GERARD CLAUSON.

PRIÈRES MAGIQUES ÉTHIOPIENNES POUR DÉLIER LES CHARMES (*maftəhe šəray*). By S. STRELCYN. pp. lxxvi + 498. Rocznik Orientalistyczny XVIII. Warsaw, 1955. Zl. 52.50.

In the course of his work on the Griaule collection of Ethiopic MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale M. Stefan Strelcyn, Professor of Semitics in the University of Warsaw, had occasion to read and to examine a very large number of magical MSS.—so prominent and ubiquitous a feature of Ethiopic manuscript literature. W. H. Worrell, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, Mlle. D. Lifchitz, and one or two other scholars had published studies of Ethiopic magic, but it was left to Professor Strelcyn to treat the material comprehensively and identify obscure maladies and remedies as well as surmount some of the linguistic and ethnographic obstacles in his way.

The author has very largely succeeded in clarifying the filiation of magical texts, their sources, and their connection with the magical literature of other Near Eastern peoples, revealing in this sphere the amazing syncretism discernible in nearly all manifestations of Ethiopian civilization.

The seventy-six pages of introduction deal with black and white magic, designs, magical terminology and all the paraphernalia of this literary genre. The text, translation, and annotation of the *maftəhe šəray* ("untying of spells") are presented competently (based on Vatican 128 in Grébaut-Tisserant's catalogue), and even a few minor errors cannot impair this favourable estimate. The indices, covering more than 150 pages, are a mine of recondite information, and their usefulness goes far beyond the limited range of magical literature. The whole work, though primarily designed to present an important Ethiopic magical text, may at the same time serve as an introduction to Near Eastern magic and its vast ramifications. It might, incidentally, be of interest to note that—as Professor Strelcyn informs me—this is the first work using Ethiopic characters ever to have been published in Poland.

EDWARD ULLENDORFF.

India

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR (August, 1925–January, 1943) and S. K. BELVAKAR (since April, 1943). Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Vol. XV : ŚĀNTIPARVAN, edited by S. K. BELVAKAR ; pt. 2, fasc. 23, pp. 1265–1624, 1952 ; and fasc. 24, pp. 1625–2080, 1953.

Vols. VIII and IX : DROṆAPARVAN, edited by S. K. DE, pt. 1, fasc. 25, pp. viii + 264, 1953.

Vol. X : KARṆAPARVAN, edited by P. L. VAIDYA, pt. 2, fasc. 27, pp. ix–lxxviii + 321–697.

Progress with this edition of the Mahābhārata was last reviewed in these pages in the issue for 1952 (p. 165) ; and the present notice therefore offers the first opportunity of welcoming accession to the editorial task of Dr. S. K. De who took up the Droṇaparvan on retiring from Dacca University in 1949. Though scholarship knows no regions, this contribution from Bengal to the great work of the Poona Institute cannot but broaden the national basis for the study of India's epic. The last number to appear (fasc. 27) completes Professor Vaidya's edition of the Karṇaparvan, and his introduction brings one up once more against the whole question of what we conceive to be the *true* text of the Mahābhārata as between the North and South recensions each with their several versions. Dr. Vaidya adheres to the shortest text based on the consensus of North and South, supplemented by a long appendix of excluded passages and a table of sequence variations, together with a concordance of standard editions invaluable for reference. If this can never result in a text with the authoritative Homeric air, everything is there for the reader's choice on any issue. The critical notes go far beyond bare elucidation of points of text. Incidentally if Śalya the Mādra may now be a Persian (theory mentioned at xxvii/81) the tacit adoption of *Bāhlika* in xxx/9 ff. leaves no room for Hopkins' confident distinction between the "Bāhlikas" in Bactria and the "Vādikas" of the Panjab, mistakenly credited with the former's taste for *sauvīraka*. The long note on the anuṣṭubh couplet lxvi/11.12 (Kṛṣṇa weighs down the chariot), reluctantly retained in a triṣṭubh context in deference to the consensus of manuscripts and commentators, is suggestive of the whole problem of the relation of these metrical elements in the epic. Conjectural emendation is rare ("bāhuvalam" in lxiii/9 "arm-waving" is attractive), and a certain austerity in the text results from avoidance of simple corrections or even alternative readings to relieve the grammatical incoherencies which so often provoke an underlying doubt. Occasional misprints still survive the Errata sheet in the Constituted Text (xxi/34, read "*niskai-valyam*" for "*niskav-*" now clear from critical note in fasc. 27 : lxiv/10, "*juganta,*" etc.). But such minutiae are irrelevant to an appreciation of the great contribution to Sanskrit scholarship which this edition

represents and to the inexhaustible research which maintains such steady progress.

WALTER GURNER.

SANGĪTARATNĀKARA. Edited by PANDIT S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.
pp. xxxii + 599. Vol. IV. Adyar Library Series, No. 86. 1953.

With the publication of the fourth volume of the new edition of the Sangītaratnākara, containing the seventh, last, ādhyāya of Śārṅgadeva's work, the Adyar Library has completed a valuable contribution in the field of the much-needed research into the history of Indian music.

Śārṅgadeva's work dates from a period when classical Hindu music was at its height, before Islamic influences had made themselves felt to any extent. The new edition incorporates two commentaries, that of Simhabhūpāla and that of Kallinātha which followed the main work at an interval of one and two centuries respectively and reflect the changes of conventions of the day. They are consequently perhaps as valuable as the original text. Simhabhūpāla's commentary had not been included in the previous, otherwise admirable, Ānandāśrama edition (now practically unobtainable), so that the new edition adduces hitherto unknown material and thus helps to fill another of the many gaps in our knowledge.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that the four volumes, the completion of which has taken about ten years, are now available.

A. BAKE.

THE VEDIC OCTAVE AND EXTRACTS FROM THE SANGĪTA SĀRA IN ABHINAVA BHARATA SĀRA SANGRAHA. Varalakshmi Academy Publication Series. Research Board Bulletin, No. 1. pp. 44. Rs. 3. Sri Varalakshmi Academies of Fine Arts, Mysore.

A new research group presents itself to the world with a bulletin containing two articles on widely different aspects of Indian music: M. Raja Rao, M.A., L.T.'s on the Vedic Octave, and R. Sathyana-rayana, B.Sc.'s, who is the editor of the bulletin, on Extracts from Sangīta Sāra in Abhinava Bharata Sāra Sangraha.

By this act the Varalakshmi Academies of Fine Arts have joined the small band of scientific bodies, such as the Madras Academy of Music and the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal, that devote themselves exclusively to this important field of cultural research. And there is ample room for more workers in this field, both in India and in the West.

The two articles in the first bulletin deal with the two extreme ends of the vast period covered by the history of Indian music. Mr. Sathyana-rayana announces the discovery of a Mysore manuscript, the Abhinava Bharata Sāra Sangraha, a treatise of the first half of the seventeenth century when the study and analysis of the Indian system of music

was flourishing :—it dates from about the same time as Damodara's Sangītarpaṇa in the North and Venkatamakhin's Caturdaṇḍa-prakāśika in the South. Fortunately the author promises an early critical edition of this work, which will be an important addition to the series of published musical texts. In the article under review he examines a fragment of an older text incorporated in the newly found manuscript and draws some noteworthy conclusions as to the existence of an older, independent, Tamil system of musical theory, traces of which are still discernible under the surface of the current unified terminology that derives from the specifically Sanskrit tradition as represented in full in the thirteenth century Sangītaratnākara.

Mr. Raja Rao tackles the earliest strata of musical development and turns his attention to the construction of the octave in the music of the Vedas. His conclusion that the later modal system was present already in the music of the Sāmaveda cannot be brushed aside lightly, even if one should be careful of straight identification of the Vedic modes with rāgas found in the modern system.

He has perhaps not escaped the error of interpreting many of the Vedic rules that were defined purely from the vocal, phonetic point of view by means of later formulas which came into being with the help of instrumental tuning that follows different laws. The drawing upon Greek terminology and analyses, however tempting, should be avoided at this stage, as the Greeks measured their notes by mathematical means, notably by division of strings, a method never current in India, certainly not in Vedic music, which relied solely on the voice as a measurer of intervals. The instrumental tuning by means of the strings of the Yaj as found in ancient Tamil music and quoted by Mr. Raja Rao, belongs to a different stratum, later than the Vedic liturgy under consideration.

The article does not contribute materially to the settling of the thorny question of the original pitch-relationship of the three Vedic accents. How is it explicable that the svarita, now universally (and logically) the highest of the three notes, should ever have been the middle one? The term ākṣipta which is taken to indicate this middle position need not mean that at all. It could just as well be taken in the sense of "hit", which suggests a high pitch. Uvāṭa's explanation of the term as quoted here: "ākṣepa nāma tiryaggamanam gātrāṇām vāyunimittam," should certainly not be taken to refer to pitch but rather to rhythm and to be the definition of a specified time-duration of a sung note, marked by a horizontal/sideward movement of the hands as it is used nowadays in the field of tāla, musical time.

The field of Vedic music has hardly been touched yet and contributions like the one under review must be looked upon as pioneer work. Even if one cannot subscribe to everything as presented, the outcome is bound to be valuable. It would repay the trouble, however (and that

is something only South Indian brahmins can achieve), to compare the written texts with the still flourishing local body of authentic Sāmavedic practice.

A. H. BAKE.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA. Vol. IV (new series) : THE EASTERN COAST AND BAY OF BENGAL. By the late SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. xxxiii + 377 pp., 2 sketch-maps. Oxford, Clarendon Press ; London, G. Cumberlege, 1955. Price £2 10s.

This volume relates the history of the factories on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal during the years 1678-1684. The period was a troubled one for the Bengal factories, largely owing to violent disputes among the factors who were an exceptionally quarrelsome lot even in an age of rugged individualists. In this respect things were better at Madras, where the firm hand of Streynsham Master kept them under control until his dismissal in 1681. However, Master's imperious character brought him into difficulties with the Golconda authorities who blockaded the town from landward and engineered a strike among the left-hand castes. The trouble was only settled by the appointment of the more conciliatory William Gyfford who replaced Master after the latter's dismissal. The factors' quarrels in Bengal did not prevent the Company's trade from flourishing in that region, at any rate in fits and starts. In 1678 the local council provided four ships with the largest cargo that ever came from the Bay in one year, viz., 1,123 tons, worth over Rs. 766,000. Subsequent profits were reduced by competition with the interlopers who were increasingly numerous and active, and by difficulties with the Mughal authorities. In 1681 began the great controversy over the issue of passes to native merchants, and for the private trade of the Company's servants, which culminated in the dispute with Nawab Mir Kasim in 1762-4. Another crucial question was the freedom from customs claimed by the English Company. The difficulty of getting a firman from Aurangzeb for freedom of customs was enhanced by the interlopers' willingness to pay the disputed duties, and by the fact that the Dutch Company did so. Disputes with the Mughal authorities arising out of these problems were still in full swing in 1684, when the Bengal factories were replaced under the control of the Governor and council at Madras from whom they had been detached two years earlier as a separate agency under William Hedges. No great novelties emerge from this volume, for the period has been thoroughly studied in the published papers of Thomas Bowrey, Streynsham Master, and William Hedges. The continual bickerings and backbiting of the Company's factors, and their long drawn-out disputes with the officials of Golconda and the Great Mughal inevitably make much of the book very tedious reading. There are only a few bright interludes, such as the description of the entertainment of

the King of Golconda by the English and Dutch in 1678 (pp. 97-8). The abridgement of the documentation has been most skillfully done and the sketch-maps are adequate, but the index is little more than an index of personal names.

C. R. BOXER.

LAND AND SOCIETY IN MALABAR. By ADRIAN C. MAYER. With a preface by Professor Raymond Firth. pp. x, 158. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. Oxford University Press, 1952. 11s. 6d.

The agrarian problems of modern India are closely linked not only with the primitive system of husbandry, but also with the social system, with its complex taboos and almost inviolable customs. The Hindu social order, in the words of Professor Firth, cannot be dismissed by the economist as "something which simply inhibits the development of free economic activity", for it also provides "solid satisfactions to be found in the family and kinship system, in the caste associations and reliances, and even in the complex ritual evaluations of animals which share with man something of what he believes to be the divine spirit". This seems to be the implicit moral of Mr. Mayer's book, which is an analysis of the social system of Malabar (here used in its narrower sense, as an administrative division of Madras State), especially in relation to agriculture. It contains the fruits of some two years' research in London, followed by five months' field work in Malabar itself.

After a brief outline of the geography and history of the region Mr. Mayer describes its unique social system, with its matrilinear and often polyandrous family system among the Nairs, the dominant non-brahman caste. He then treats of crops and agricultural techniques, interests in land, forms of land tenure, inheritance of land, incentives behind land use, and the changing pattern of contemporary economic and social life. His final chapter considers the policy of the government under the present regime; though well aware of the corruption and disillusion rife in Malabar, he finds the prospects "perilous, but rewarding".

Mr. Mayer's work is a model of concentration, for which he never sacrifices clarity. He writes in a lively style, and sympathy and affection for the people he studies are implicit in his pages. This book will be of value to all students of the economics and sociology of contemporary India.

A. L. BASHAM.

RVGVEDIC LEGENDS THROUGH THE AGES. By H. L. HARIYAPPA. pp. xxi + 208. Deccan College Dissertation Series, 9. Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1953. Rs. 15.

The *Rg Veda* refers to many myths and legends in a tantalizingly allusive manner, and some of these have been developed and expanded

in later religious literature to become part of the mythology of Hinduism. Dr. Hariyappa has made a careful study of three of these legends from their first fragmentary forms to the final Purāṇic versions, the three chosen being those of Saramā, Śunaśśepa (a spelling which the author prefers to the more usual Śunaśśepa), and Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. His work will be very useful to students of Indian religion as giving a clear conspectus of these three legends in the various stages of their development, but his attempts at interpretation, though here and there suggestive, are generally vague and unconvincing.

Dr. Hariyappa rightly rejects the view, popular among scholars in the nineteenth century, that the legends are based on celestial phenomena, and adopts a sort of euhemerism. "The RV is a human document, the gods are man-made, they have human characteristics, in other words they are conceived in a human mould" (p. 142). Some of his conclusions remind us of Mr. Robert Graves' recent brilliant but very questionable interpretation of the Greek myths—thus, "the Śunaśśepa legend is a protest against human sacrifice which the Aryans found prevalent in the land when they arrived from the north-western regions" (p. 136). Like some other Hindu scholars the author seems at pains to exonerate his forebears from all customs objectionable to the twentieth century—the student with no axe to grind may prefer the view that the Śunaśśepa legend embodies a recollection of the actual sacrifice of children to appease Varuṇa.

The value of the work would have been much increased by bringing to bear on these legends the date of comparative religion and mythology. Much more is now known about the religions of the ancient world than was known in the days of Max Müller, or even of Berriedale Keith. Further study of Rg Vedic religion in such a framework is one of the most important future tasks of Indology.

A. L. BASHAM.

THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE. By T. BURROW. Faber and Faber. vi + 426 pages. London, 1955. 55s. *su*

It is perhaps inevitable that the volume on Sanskrit in the "Great Languages series should be of a more specifically philological character than the corresponding works on Latin and Greek. Passages from successive writers in the former, and of dialect in the latter admitted an interest for the classic-minded layman; whereas the appeal of Professor Burrow's work will be essentially to a wide range of philologists, and the perhaps more limited circle of scholars and dilettanti in Sanskrit. It is in fact as much a contribution to the study of Indo-European philology in its widest aspect as to that of Vedic and post-Vedic speech, but at the same time overlaps the sphere of the grammarian in minute treatment of word-formation and accidence. In the more extensive field the chief advance may be found in the application

to Sanskrit phonetics of principles derived from the new discoveries in Hittite, for instance the influence of the Hittite aspirate. Traditional ideas are modified. The Dravidian element in the Sanskrit vocabulary, the new material for which furnishes the greater part of an Appendix on non-Aryan influence, is derived less from contacts in Southern India than from those with Dravidian-speaking peoples in the North during the invasions. The old theory that personal endings in the verbal conjugation are evolved from pronominal forms is rejected. Deviations from the Pāṇini canons of grammar in the epics are not fossils from an earlier stage, but tend towards the later "Middle Aryan", with the result that the earliest written epic must be later than Pāṇini. (In other words the most primitive strata of the Indian epic as now known crystallized three or four centuries after the Pisistratid redaction of Homer.) Sanskrit as predominantly an oral language is prolonged into the late Alexandrian age in the statement that "It is unlikely that much literature existed in manuscript before the second century B.C."; but it may be felt that the revival later on of post-Vedāṅga secular Sanskrit, with so little recourse to pen and ink during the early Buddhist ascendancy, becomes an increasingly difficult problem. The range of philological scholarship, and the precision of its application to the accented Vedic speech and later Sanskrit, make this work a monument in the revival of English interest in Sanskrit studies which may be claimed for the post-war years.

WALTER GURNER.

STUDIES IN INDIAN LITERARY HISTORY. By P. K. GODE. Singhi Jain Series, No. 38 (= Shri Bahadur Singh Singhi Memoirs, vols. 4-5). Bhāratiya Vidya Bhavan, 1953-4. 2 vols., pp. xv, 546; iv, iii, 543.

These two volumes, published in the Singhi Jain Series, contain collected papers which during the last thirty-five years have been published by Dr. Gode in a variety of Oriental journals. During this time Dr. Gode has been associated with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Institute has been fortunate to have such a scholar in charge of its manuscripts, and the extensive collections there have provided him with unrivalled opportunity for research into still unexplored fields of Indian literary history. In addition to his work in building up the manuscript collection, Dr. Gode has put all scholars in his debt by publishing, during these years, a continual stream of original papers throwing new light, not only on the history of Sanskrit Literature, but also on many other topics.

These contributions hitherto have not, in the mass, been easily accessible to interested scholars. In 1947 a bibliography was published of Dr. Gode's works published up to that date (1916-1946). This was exceedingly useful, but since there are very few libraries possessing complete sets of all the periodicals involved, it did not solve for

most scholars the problem of accessibility. The publication in collected form of the papers represented in the two volumes before us is therefore particularly to be welcomed, since they constitute an indispensable work of reference for all serious students of Sanskrit literature. This is an essential acquisition for all institutes and libraries connected with Indian Studies and it does not seem that the 500 copies printed will be sufficient for the potential demand.

The main topic of the present collection is the chronology of the later phase of Sanskrit literature together with biographical details which can be extracted from the manuscript literature. Most of this is new and the information inaccessible elsewhere. But in addition to this a whole variety of topics are touched upon and there are few aspects of Sanskrit culture which are not illumined in some way or other. By way of illustration we may mention one paper dealing with the anticipation by Āryabhaṭa (c. 500) of the theory of the earth's rotation, together with later criticisms of it, or again two very interesting papers dealing with what must have been the last Āśvamedha sacrifice to be held, by Raja Jaisingh of Amber in the eighteenth century A.D.

The utility of the publication is much enhanced by indexes which have been prepared by A. D. Pusalker and N. A. Gore. The total number of papers contained in the two volumes is 128, and this is far from exhausting the material available. It is to be hoped that the response to collection so far published will be such as to encourage a continuation of the series.

T. BURROW.

Buddhism

THE CENTRAL PHILOSOPHY OF BUDDHISM. A Study of the Mādhyamika System. By T. R. V. MURTI. xiii + pp. 372. G. Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1955. 30s.

In view of the decisive importance which the philosophy of Nāgārjuna has had not only for India, but also for the Far East, it is rather surprising to find how little has been written about it so far. Professor Murti, of Benares University, has now given us an authoritative exposition of the ideas of the Mādhyamikas. It is based on the Sanskrit sources, which are abundant and generally sufficient. In one or two instances a slightly different picture might, however, result from a consultation of the texts preserved only in Tibetan and Chinese. For Professor Murti the Mādhyamikas represent the true and original doctrine of the Buddha, and he believes that the validity of their teachings, both for Asia and as "the basis for a possible world culture" (p. 341), is still unexhausted. The author's thesis is expounded in three parts. The first deals with the "origin and development of the Mādhyamika philosophy", the second describes its actual teachings, which are

regarded as a system of "dialectic" reasoning, and the third compares it with "allied systems", i.e. with Kant, Hegel, Bradley, the Vijñānavādins, and the Vedānta. It is interesting to note that, like Stcherbatsky, Professor Murti arrives at the conclusion that among Europeans "Kant comes nearest to the Mādhyamika conception of philosophy" (p. 213).

The rare combination of philological accuracy with philosophical profundity and spiritual zest make this one of the most outstanding publications on Buddhism which we have seen for a long time. No other Buddhist school has so far been treated with such competence. And yet it is a striking tribute to the abounding richness of Buddhist thought that even this lengthy and excellent monograph can cover only a part of this one school. Nāgārjuna and the Prāsaṅgikas are adequately dealt with. The Svātantrikas are barely mentioned, and little is said also about the Yogācāra-Mādhyamikas, who worked out the final synthesis of the Mahāyāna in India. Kumārajīva and the Chinese developments, as well as the religious teachings of the Mādhyamikas, are quite ignored. But what Professor Murti has given is quite enough for the time being, and his study of the basic conceptions of the Mādhyamikas provides the indispensable starting point for any further studies in this field. The book is well produced, although one would like to see fewer misprints in the Sanskrit footnotes.

EDWARD CONZE.

LES SECTES BOUDDHIQUES DU PETIT VÉHICULE. By A. BAREAU.
pp. 310. Publications de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient.
Vol. XXXVIII. Saigon, 1955.

Much has already been written about the doctrinal disputes of the Buddhists. From 1859 onwards numerous scholars have edited and translated the relevant documents, and several attempts have been made to arrange, compare, and interpret the often conflicting data contained in them. To the unremitting energy and industry of Dr. Bareau we now owe a comprehensive survey of the material, which will be an indispensable work of reference for all those concerned with the development of Buddhist thought. The book falls into three parts. The first describes the traditional lists of the sects, tries to determine their date and geographical distribution, and then discusses the causes of the divisions within the Order as well as the relations (generally most amiable) between the sects. The second part is then devoted to the enumeration, in 200 pages, of the distinctive tenets of thirty-four sects and sub-sects, which are chiefly taken from the literature on controversies, such as Vasumitra, Bhavya, the *Kathāvatthu*, and so on. Where the commentaries provide one, a welcome explanation has been added to the more obscure propositions. In addition, Dr. Bareau has drawn on De la Vallée-Poussin's great work on the *Abhidharmakośa*, and on various smaller treatises preserved in Chinese. Generally speaking,

we find in this volume all the information we can reasonably expect, although there are one or two gaps. For instance, in the case of the Sammatīyas, one of the rather enigmatic "Personalist" schools, we are told that a *śāstra* extant in Chinese contains valuable material about them (p. 122), but no use is made of it here. The third part consists of three Appendices: The first gives a very helpful classification of the more than 500 disputed points according to their subject-matter, the second attempts to measure the relative degree of affinity and disaffinity between the various sects, and the third makes some tentative suggestions about the origins of the Mahāyāna, which Dr. Bareau believes to have arisen among the Mahāsāṅghikas of the Northern Deccan. Throughout the whole book the facts are presented with scrupulous accuracy, and the standard of scholarship is up to the best traditions of French Orientalism.

EDWARD CONZE.

Islam

STUDIES IN EARLY PERSIAN ISMAILISM. By W. IVANOW. (Ismaili Society Series A, 8.) pp. 157. Bombay, 1955. 12s.

This is a new edition of a book first published in 1948 but, as the first chapter of the original has been superseded by a separate publication, a new chapter has been substituted for it. The main points of the new chapter are that Ismailism differs from Shi'ism only in the person of the imam, its driving force was a messianic belief in a good time coming, it was not the child of any earlier heresy, its so-called philosophy had little connection with its religious power and Fatimid Ismaili orthodoxy has no visible antecedents presumably because the earlier literature is lost. The next chapter tries to define and date certain terms. The next is a provisional translation of fragments which apply a mystical theory of numbers to the Koran. Then comes a discussion of a propaganda tract in the form of a dialogue between teacher and pupil who is converted and becomes a missionary. A book provoked controversy; so Ḥamid al-dīn al-Kirmānī gave what he hoped would be a final answer, distributing praise and blame among the original writer, his supporter and his critic. In this discussion stories from the Bible and the Koran took a big place. Ideas from philosophy and theology were adapted to sectarian ends. A discussion about the words *qadar* and *qaḍā*, which were equated with *sābiq* and *tālī* or *'aql* and *nafs*, led some to the conclusion that the Prophet, the *nāṭiq* was parallel to the *tālī* while others rejected this as impious. The first conclusion seems to be part of the endeavour of the Shi'a to put the imam above the prophet. In the last chapter a statement of Ismaili belief is set over against the fairy tales accepted by Sunni Islam. This book contains too many conjectures to be wholly satisfactory and it is a pity that the author did not get someone to revise his English.

A. S. TRITTON.

MUHAMMAD'S PEOPLE : A TALE BY ANTHOLOGY. By ERIC SCHROEDER.
pp. 838, map 1. The Bond Wheelwright Co., 1955. \$10.

Except for a short general introduction and a few sentences at the beginning of some chapters, the whole of this book is translated from Muslim sources, mostly Arabic. It is not a consecutive history though the chief events are told at length ; it is not " Islam as seen by contemporaries " for much is the work of professional historians ; and it is not an apology for Islam, for some of the incidents themselves need apology. After a short section on the Time of Ignorance, supported by two quotations from Doughty, the life of Muhammad is told with extracts from the Koran skilfully woven into the story. The choice of Muhammad's successor, the conquests, the failure of 'Uthman and the civil war are told in some detail. The title of the next chapter, " The world and the Flesh," prepares for a change of treatment, less political history and more social anecdote. Much the same treatment is given to the age of Abbasid glory after which there is little history ; instead there is town life in all its fullness, what men thought and believed, their amusements, what they ate and drank and what they admired in literature and morals. Much space is given to the bankruptcy of the government and the desperate attempts to raise money ; a comparatively minor official tells how he used his position to avenge himself on a private enemy. It is typical that he felt some remorse but his repentance took the form of resigning from government service. The compiler has taken existing versions when possible making only such changes as to create a uniform style ; for the Koran something more biblical has been used. Elsewhere he has made his own versions. Some may think that too much space has been given to scenes of violence but it was a brutal age and a counterblast is needed to the frequent unreasoning praise of Muslim civilization. It has often been said that Arabic literature was for men only ; that applies to parts of this book. The sections on mysticism are the antithesis of the tales of cruelty and, beautiful though they are, they are perhaps disproportionately long. Hallaj is treated as a saint and there is no hint that he may have been a charlatan. It was said earlier that this book deals with town life ; unfortunately there is no material for a work on country life. To live in a village among ignorant folk was a punishment. Education is ignored almost entirely. One wonders whether the last section on medicine and doctors deserves its places ; the ideas expressed are not specifically Muslim and could be paralleled from Europe. There are indices of the principal persons, subjects, poems, and of selected anecdotes ; the last is badly arranged. The map is only a sketch. But whatever strictures may be made, there is no doubt that this book can be recommended heartily to all who want to know how Muhammad's people walked, talked, worked, and played.

A. S. TRITTON.

AL-BAYĀN FĪ I'JĀZ IL-QUR'ĀN. By ḤAMD B. MUHAMMAD AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ.
 Edited by 'ABD-AL-'ALĪM. pp. xii + 51. Aligarh (Arabic Publications, I). 1953.

The writer was contemporary with Bāqillānī, the author of the best known book on this subject, and, like him, uses poetry to illustrate his points. The usual arguments are brought forward; that the Arabs failed to meet Muḥammad's challenge to make anything comparable with the Koran—according to some because their attention was turned away from the challenge; that the miracle consisted in foretelling the future; that the miracle lay in the style. Some argued that the appreciation of this style was a matter of feeling not to be put into words. The author disproves this argument by showing by examples that the Koran uses words accurately and the critics have always missed the point. Some objected to "the wolf ate him" arguing that "rent" or "tore" would be more appropriate to the animal; the reply is that, as for the purpose of the story nothing of Joseph could be left, "ate" is the right word. Another reason why the critics were wrong is that they forgot how language changes and judged the Koran by the standard of their own day. Musailima's revelations are held up to scorn, some being dismissed as parody. The final argument for the Koran is its power over the minds and souls of men. By way of introduction Yāqut's life of the author is prefixed to the text. It is a pleasure to welcome this first Arabic publication by Aligarh University.

A. S. TRITTON.

STUDIES IN ISLAMIC CULTURAL HISTORY. Edited by G. E. VON GRUNEBaum. Memoir No. 76. xi + 60 pp. American Anthropological Association, 1954.

The four papers included in this pamphlet were presented at a conference in Mainz in 1952, promoted by the Ford Foundation. The editor opens with a wide-ranging discussion, first on the medieval Muslim concept of education and its effects on literary ideals, then on the mysticization of religious life in the Greek and Islamic societies and Hellenistic influence in Islam. H. J. Kissling, dealing with the dervish orders in the Ottoman empire, maintains that they "represent the primitive and lower religion of the people, inherited from earlier religious ideas, as contrasted with orthodox Islam, which had little to offer to the mind of the masses precisely because of its well-known rationalism". In the following argument he tends to equate the dervishes with socialism, but points out that general sociological statements are still premature and that the anarchical aspects of dervishism can generally be traced to the unbalanced exaggeration of a positive ideal. W. Caskel traces through epigraphic evidence the gradual spread of bedouin life in Arabia at the expense of the settled communities in the early Christian centuries, and suggests that the beginnings of Classical Arabic are to

be placed in N.W. Arabia. B. Spuler argues that, in spite of the conversion of the majority of Persians to Islam in the first two centuries, the real eradication of Zoroastrianism was only later accomplished by religious missionaries and mystics, and consummated by force under the Turkish dynasties.

H. A. R. GIBB.

AVERROES' *TAHAFUT AL-TAHAFUT* (THE INCOHERENCE OF THE INCOHERENCE). Trans. by S. VAN DER BERGH. Vol. I, pp. 374; Vol. II, pp. 219. Gibb Memorial Series, N.S. XIX. Oxford University Press, 1954.

Averroes was false doctrine incarnate for Europe in the Middle Ages, while for Muslims he was lawyer and doctor. The *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* is one of his few philosophical works which have survived in Arabic. It is impertinent to say that the translation is accurate and as readable as can be expected from philosophy. The book contains a stimulating introduction, 200 pages of learned notes, indices, and a list of the passages in which the translator differs from the text edited by Father Bouyges. Oriental editions print this book in one volume with the *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, to which it is an answer, and they omit the long quotations from Ghazālī's book though in so doing they omit comments of Averroes. The notes are full of quotations in Arabic, Greek, and Latin and comprise discussions on the meaning of Arabic terms, the origin of ideas and the validity of the arguments and are the product of wide reading in philosophy, classical, medieval, and modern, Christian theology, early and medieval, and Muslim theology. Here is one example. In defending the belief in talismans Avicenna uses the case of a man who can walk along a plank when it lies on the ground though he would hesitate to do so if it were stretched across an abyss. This is employed by Pietro Bairo (who has a long quotation from Avicenna), by Montaigne and later by Pascal. It is also found in Thomas Aquinas and in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.

Orthodox Muslims were so suspicious of philosophy that some forbade the study of logic to those not firmly grounded in the principles of religion. This hostility crystallized round two charges, that philosophy taught the eternity of the world and denied the resurrection of the body. There were other problems. How could a Muslim, who was bound to believe in creation, reconcile this belief with an eternally unchanging God? How could this God, whose knowledge was eternal, know the ever changing details of human life? (It is comforting to be told that some of the arguments are simply playing with words.) Another difficulty was to reconcile the unity of God with the manifoldness of the world; a difficulty which the philosophers sought to resolve by the theory of emanations. Put briefly, Muslim philosophy was Aristotle interpreted by neo-Platonists though other ideas had seeped into the

Muslim mind, even that of the orthodox; the earliest theologians, the Mu'tazilites, had some ideas in common with the Stoics. Ghazālī set out to disprove these ideas in a book which might be called "The bankruptcy of Philosophers", though in other books he adopts ideas which he condemns here. Averroes answered this polemic, with varying success in the opinion of his translator.

A. S. TRITTON.

Art and Archaeology

ŚĀRIPUTRA ET LES SIX MAÎTRES D'ERREUR. Fac-similé du manuscrit chinois 4524 de la Bibliothèque Nationale, présenté par NICOLE VANDIER-NICOLAS avec traduction et commentaire du texte. Paris, 1954. (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale : Série in-quarto-V.)

It was before the first world war that Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Paul Pelliot brought back to Europe the contents of the walled-up chamber in the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in the Tun-huang oasis. Yet even to-day the greater part of this material remains unpublished. The very wealth of material has retarded publication. Stein was an explorer, geographer, and Indologist. He had neither the leisure nor the special knowledge to publish the texts or the Buddhist paintings which form the great mass of what he brought back, though he was fully aware of their significance and importance. Pelliot had to devote a great part of his time to lecturing in the Sorbonne on a fresh course each year. He never had time to bring to a conclusion the many studies on which he was engaged. Now, however, a team of scholars is seeing through the press the material left in his notes. And Mademoiselle Vandier-Nicolas has shown what is required for detailed studies of the more important MSS., before it is possible to make any general appraisal of this Buddhist library and of the literary and artistic treasures of Tun-huang.

The document which is the subject of the present monograph consists of a paper roll, incomplete at both ends: on one side are painted five scenes, divided from one another by trees: on the reverse the text is written in Chinese, describing the contest between Śāriputra, a disciple of the second generation, who is the protagonist, with the Six Masters of a False Religion, evidently Brahman ascetics, who are almost nude. The form of the text is the *pien wen*, the strongly dramatic narrative form which seems to have been of Central Asian origin and popular at Tun-huang.

One wonders whether the roll was not intended for use by a public reciter who would have held it up so that the reverse was visible to his audience, while he himself could read the text on the other side. This text is highly pictorial in the descriptions of the several "materializations" which the rival parties call into being by their mastery of magical

powers. The mountain in the first surviving episode is covered with purple climbing plants and its peaks are formed of the precious metals—which adds greatly to the drama of the moment when it is reduced to powder by the vajra of Śāriputra in the transformation of a Vajrapāni. The form of the publication is admirable; the quality of the reproduction excellent, and the text provides all the documentation required for its study.

The interest of the painted scroll is manifold. Mlle Vandier-Nicolas fully appreciates the richness of the iconography, but in qualifying the hand of the painter as that of an artisan she gives, perhaps, a wrong impression. Clearly this is not the work of a master; but is it not rather the vivid portrayal by a monk picking up each nuance of the story, than the work of an artisan working according to a prescription? There is much clumsily expressed but nothing misunderstood.

The date of composition corresponds with the introduction to China through Buddhist practice of an Indian dramatic form of mixed verse and prose, just as Indian dance forms were similarly introduced by Buddhist monks. This was in the eighth/ninth century, and gradually went out of fashion in the tenth. The landscape (on the XVI/XVII fold) is compared with the ninth century wall painting at Wan-folsia published by Langdon Warner.

The contest of Raudraksha and Śāriputra is also represented in late T'ang wall paintings at Tun-huang in Pelliot caves 163, 38, and 8. Leroy Davidson was baffled by the inclusion of this subject with iconography otherwise taken from the Pao en Ching and lotus sutras and the Paradise (pp. 91-2). The subject chosen for illustration in the wall paintings is the destruction of a tree produced by Raudraksha, by a great wind magically called up by Śāriputra. This scene is missing from the Bibliothèque Nationale roll, but was perhaps the subject of the mutilated lost section of it. These wall paintings are less Central Asian and more Chinese than the paper scroll painting. The figure of Raudraksha is quite transformed in it. Instead of an Indian dressed only in a loin cloth there is a figure dressed like a Bodhisattva in a Chinese painting.

BASIL GRAY.

ARS ORIENTALIS: THE ARTS OF ISLAM AND THE EAST. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Fine Arts Department, University of Michigan. Vol. I. 1954.

Ars Islamica, after a distinguished career, gives place to a further series of wider scope, embracing the arts of the East in general, including the Far East. The Near Eastern Editor is Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, and the Far Eastern, Max Loehr.

In their first number, the editors and contributors provide a quite remarkable array of good things. The main emphasis is on Islamic book

miniatures. Dr. Rice's long contribution entitled "The Seasons and the Labours of the Months in Islamic Art", partly illustrated by the author's line drawings, is concerned with iconographic themes transmitted by the Christian Near East to Islamic art in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Mr. Basil Gray's carefully documented article is on some miniatures in a fragmentary MS. of the "Jāmi'al-tawārikh" in the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Both this article and the three by Oktay Aslanapa, Max Loehr, and Dr. Ettinghausen (with sixty-two reproductions) on the paintings in four albums in Istanbul, are of great interest to all students of early Timurid painting and on the Chinese contacts of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Mr. B. W. Robinson, writing on three famous Shāh-Nāmeh illustrations, puts forward arguments which it will be difficult to refute, showing that they have been considerably ante-dated. There are other noteworthy articles by Theodore C. Petersen (on early Islamic book bindings), by Dr. H. Goetz on early Rajput Murals of Bairat (north of Jaipur), and by H. Stern on certain sculptures of the Omayyad style. Another valuable article is that by Dr. Ettinghausen on the Lusterware of Spain, fittingly dedicated to that distinguished Islamic art scholar, Ernst Kühnel for his seventieth birthday; there is also a bibliography by Kurt Erdmann of Kühnel's writings.

There are three detailed Excavation Reports and numerous notes and book reviews.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

NOTE

SHAWLS: A STUDY IN INDO-EUROPEAN INFLUENCES. By JOHN IRWIN.

The review of this book on page 191 of the *Journal* for 1955 inadvertently omitted the word SHAWLS.

Miscellaneous

LANGUAGE IN CULTURE. Edited by HARRY HOIJER. University of Chicago Press. pp. xi + 286. 1955. 34s.

This book reports the Conference on the Interrelations of Language and Other Aspects of Culture, held in Chicago in 1953. It comprises the six papers there read, with transcripts of nine discussions on the topics raised by the papers and the problems connected with them. The whole work may be regarded as a discussion of the ethnolinguistic implications of what has come to be termed the Whorf Hypothesis, as set out in Whorf's Collected Papers on Metaphysics (Washington D.C., 1952). Briefly the hypothesis is that the type of structure of the speaker's language (our own being Standard Average European or S.A.E.) helps to determine his perception of the universe and to shape the concepts which he frames about his experience.

It must be emphasized (and is by several participants, e.g. pp. 122-3, 172-3, 175, 229) that these predispositions of language can be overcome, as they represent the easiest but not the only possible way in which a speaker can perceive and think about his environment. Were they insurmountable, this book could hardly have been written, for we should be unable to appreciate what is claimed by the hypothesis to be the relativity of our own thinking and the existence of different modes of viewing the world of experience among speakers of other languages.

Those unfamiliar with Whorf's contentions would be well advised to turn first to the fourth paper by Fearing, and the sixth by Hoijer, where the substance of Whorf's thesis (which was partly influenced by Sapir) is set out.

In general it is agreed by the contributors that the Whorf hypothesis remains a challenge to anthropologists and linguists; but that without further research specifically devoted to it, it cannot yet be regarded as proved or disproved. Emphasis is rightly placed on the need in the first instance for the study of details with regard to language-culture correlations, rather than the broad generalizations that offer themselves so attractively.

The book is a welcome indication of the renewed interest in the problems of meaning and in the wider implications of language study among American linguists.

R. H. ROBINS.

NOTE

The Eighth Conference of British Orientalists, organized under the joint auspices of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Association of British Orientalists, will be held at Magdalene College, Cambridge, from Monday, 17th September, to Thursday, 20th September, 1956.

The Conference is open to all British Orientalists. Those who intend to be present are requested to write to "Eighth Conference of British Orientalists", 42 Lyndewode Road, Cambridge, preferably before the end of July.

RUSTUM JUNG

(CHEVALIER DE LALÉE)

A French leader of Basalât Jung, Haider-Ali, and Tipú-Sultan

BY ALFRED LEHURAUX

THE IDENTITY OF the Chevalier de Lalée, known to Indians as *Rustum Jung*, has given rise to much speculation. Owing to its fancied similarity with that of Count Lally, he had been called "the younger Lally" ¹ till the late Sir Evan Cotton pointed out that he had no connection with that ill-fated general, ² though a nephew of the General, Michel de Lally, *Brigadier des armées du Roi*, ³ came to India in the "Regiment de Lally", but he never made any figure in the history of the French in India.

Henry François Charles Pompée, the subject of this sketch, was born at Rumilly (Haute-Savoie) on 25th January, 1732, being the son of "noble Charles Pompée de Motz de la Sales [*sic*] and his wife", the "noble Dame Louise Marie Portier du Bellair". The "Armorial of Savoie" tells us that there was issue of this marriage, seventeen children—eight sons and nine daughters. The family were subjects of the King of Sardinia. The "Armorial" does not give the children in chronological order. The eldest son (Jean Claude Cyrille), Seigneur de la Salle, had the right to the title "Baron de Motz". Two sons were in the Church: one a Canon and professor of theology in the "Sainte Maison" of Thonon, the other a Canon of the Cathedral of Geneva. Another son was an advocate, punctilious about the proper use of the family name "de Motz", which was the exclusive patronymic of the eldest son. We gather this from a letter ⁴ written by a fifth son from "Hoganne an Amérique ile et coste St. Domingue" on 6th February, 1787. He signs, "until forbidden by my brother the Advocate," De Motz de la Salle. A planter married to a "kind-hearted Créole", he is anxious to introduce turnips into the colony as food for the negroes. The letter is addressed to his widowed mother, who died c. 1790—the father having died

¹ Malleison, like Mr. Xavier Raymond, calls him "M. de Lally, nephew of the famous French general". Wilks' *History of Mysore* refers to him as M. Lally.

² *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 12th March, 1933: "The Younger Lally."

³ A military grade under the old regime, equivalent to Brigadier-General. Abolished in 1788.

⁴ De Motz papers, Rumilly.

in May, 1782. Of the three remaining sons of Charles Pompée de Motz de la Sales one was our Chevalier. A "Tante d'Anières" was Josephite de Motz, a cousin of Charles Pompée married to Alphonse de Gantelet d'Anières. The last Baron de Motz died without issue at Rumilly in 1886¹ and the family papers came into the possession of the Departmental Records of Rumilly.

M. Avezou, the erudite Keeper of the Records of Haute-Savoie (Annecy), tells me that certain members of the de Motz family bore the additional name de l'Allée or LaLée (*Leta*), traceable to Notre Dame LaLée (*Beata Maria Leta*), Our Lady of Joy. In many families like the de Motz the cadets were styled "Chevalier". There were many Chevaliers serving in India at this period, for the regular French regiments—Dupleix, Austrasie, La Marek, Royal Rousillon, Lally-Pondichery—were officered by cadets of noble families. Some of their descendants may still be traced on the Coromandel Coast, in Upper India, and in Bengal, like the descendants of Louis Michel Durup de Dombasle, of Chevalier de Veuillet (Vigy) de Lalee's cousin, and Chevalier Dudrenec.

A notice in *Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société Savoisienne*, quoted by M. Maurice Besson,² says that the young Chevalier received a "solid education" at the College of Rumilly and, being destined for the Church, became a Novice of the Benedictines of Talloires. But he preferred to be a soldier and, enlisting in the troops of the *Compagnie des Indes*, left for Pondichéry, where he served "at the time of Count Lally-Tollendal's expedition" (between 1758 and 1761). But:—

"the ruin of our Indian colony, following the disaster of 1763 [*sic*], obliged De Motz de la Salle de Lallée to return to Europe. On the way his ship was captured by the English, who despoiled him of the money he had saved and threw him for two years into prison in London. Our Savoyard never forgave them for this harsh treatment. No sooner free than he returned to India."

I am unable to verify these statements. 1763 is apparently a slip for 1761. Capture, despoilment, and imprisonment are real incidents

¹ *Mémoires et Documents de la Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, vol. 26, pp. x-xv (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris).

² *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies*, Paris, May, 1934.

in the life of the unfortunate Count Lally.¹ We possess three positive statements on de Lalée's early career. The first is by Jean Law, who knew him and who wrote (c. 1777) that he had been a *maréchal-de-logis* (cavalry sergeant) under M. de Bussy. The second is by the chevalier himself in the following letter written by him from Adoni (15th August, 1774) :—

“Since the loss of India there has remained in this party a detachment of a few miserable Frenchmen under Monsieur Zéphire otherwise Babet [*sic*]—the name of his family. This worthy man now is dead without having the consolation of receiving news of all the offers he had made. Monsieur Garder [*sic*] succeeded him ; the latter, whose age did not permit his supporting the fatigues of the Campaign, preferred a good retreat. As the most senior officer of the ‘*parti suisse*’ I have the honor to command it since the month of October, 1773. This party is in the service of Nawab Bassala Jung.”²

The third is also by the Chevalier, in a memorial³ to Louis XVI through Vergennes (4th September, 1786). Lalée is pleading for a pension for his brother the Canon of Thonon. Being a Savoyard, and consequently a foreign subject, he is at pains to enhance his services and devotion to the King of France. Had he suffered imprisonment and pillage by the King's enemies he would undoubtedly have laid stress on these incidents. But all he says regarding his early career is the following :—

“Le Sieur De Most [*sic*] de Lalée de la Salle, gentilhomme savoyard, après avoir essuyé dans l'Inde la réforme qui fut faite après la dissolution de la Compagnie des Indes, rassembla un corps de troupes avec lequel il passa au service du Nabab d'Adonis auquel il a été attaché douze ans.”

¹ After the fall of Pondichéry he was conducted a prisoner of war to Madras and subjected to studied indignity due to the animosity of Pigot—his baggage seized, his cases opened and ransacked (for concealed treasure) ; and he himself, in spite of ill-health, carried by force on board a merchant ship where he had not even a cabin and was reduced to feed on the sailors' salted meat for three months, until the vessel touched St. Helena. (*La Fin d'un Empire Français aux Indes*, Tibulle Hamont, 1887.)

² Colonial Archives, Paris : “Inde : Correspondance Générale, 1774-1783. 141.C,” quoted by Gaudart in his translation of Mallison's *Final French Struggles*. Note.

³ Archives Nationales, Paris, Colon. E.250.

We cannot fix dates with certainty. Bussy left India in 1760. If de Lalée was discharged (*réformé*) only after 1769 when the Company's privileges were suspended,¹ where was he between the fall of Pondichery (1761) and its retrocession (1765)? We are told in Europe, but there is no evidence.

Mr. de Lalée was no adventurer. It was the policy of the French Court to maintain civil agents as well as European troops at the various Durbars not directly under English influence. Officers held the King's Commission. Even when not officially recognized they were officially supported. Mr. de Lalée, although not of the regular service, received from King Louis XVI in 1775 a commission as Major and in 1777 a Colonelcy in the Colonial Army, with the Cross of St. Louis.

Among the Indian potentates who attracted Europeans to their service, none was more popular than Basalât Jung, the brother of the Nizam. Bussy had given him in appanage the Districts of Adoni and Raichur.² He was only twenty-three and a great friend of the French. He also possessed the *jagir* of Guntur (Murtazanagar Circar), which contained the little seaport of Motupalli, through which French troops and warlike stores filtered into his dominions. And not French alone: from all parts of India recruits flocked to what was known, in French annals, as *le parti Suisse*. There were also frequent desertions from the English company: "When a regiment was on its march from Ellore to Madras and passed through Guntur Circus two officers and thirty-four European soldiers deserted, and although Bassalât Jung, at Guntur, denied any knowledge of the fugitives they were found soon afterwards in his service at Adoni."³ His service was popular because it was better paid than that of Haïder Ali. Its discipline, says Jean Law de Lauriston, was peculiar: "Outside the definite sphere of duty there reign a liberty and sort of equality that would not be tolerated in our troops... Duties were regularly discharged but, once completed, all were hail-fellows-well-met." We have seen that Lalée succeeded to the command of this force in October, 1773. When Law wrote (about 1777) the *parti suisse* comprised some 300 or 400 men of different nations, mostly French, including 200 cavaliers. Of Lalée he says: "[il] est bon

¹ Their affairs were not liquidated till 1771. The military establishment of Pondichéry was not reorganized till 1773, under Law de Lauriston.

² Journal de Bussy.

³ Manual of the Kistna district.

militaire et a de l'intelligence." Law entertained relations with this Corps through M. Renaud, a former clockmaker of Pondichery. I have been able to trace in the Pondichery archives some of his officers: viz. Renard, major of the troop, and Joseph Hornot, "officer and commissary". One Philippe Thevenot acted as the "correspondent" of the party in Pondichery.

We first hear of Lalée in 1773 in an early attempt by Basalât Jung to coerce the recalcitrant chief of Adhoni. Kirmani says:—

"The Nabab (Haïder Ali) had learned that the chief of Adhoni had dispatched his troops to take Bullari (Bellary) and that Sudder Jung, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and the Frenchman, Monsieur Lalli, who had the title of *Rustum Jung*,¹ had already besieged that town, and were prosecuting their operations; but that the Naik, who defended the place, had fought manfully and vigorously repelled his enemies."

The presence of French troops at Guntur was a source of annoyance to the Madras Council and every effort was made to get rid of them. Haïder Ali himself, in pursuance of his designs against the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali and Basalât Jung, wished to deprive the latter of his trained European corps. He made repeated overtures, either directly or through Mr. Law, to this party to come over to his service. His offers being rejected he conceived the bold project of surprising Lalée in the open and carrying him off with his troop. De Lalée went out to enforce the payment of arrears by recalcitrant poligars, accompanied by his Europeans, 1,000 sepoys, and some 1,200 cavaliers of Basalât Jung, when Haïder Ali in person swooped down upon them. Kirmani describes the incident thus:—

"... The commanding officer of the army, thinking the day of resurrection had arrived, ran away with naked feet, and now rising, now falling, sought refuge with the detachment of Monsieur Lalli which, compared with the rest of the army, remained in some degree collected and in order. There he found safety, and the gallant Frenchman, now binding the waist-belt of courage tight round the loins of enterprise, having collected the remainder of his men ... and a few Khaim Khani horse, formed them in regular array, with closed ranks, and preceded and followed by two light guns, marched by night to Adhooni. But the whole of the baggage

¹ The title must have been conferred by Bassalât Jung. It occurs again in *The History of the Reign of Tipû Sultan*, by Kirmani (Miles' translation), p. 93, where Lalée is referred to as "Roastum Jung the French Officer, that is Mr. Lally".

of his troops, tents, standards, and even the women of the Mughals,¹ fell into the hands of the Nawab's brave warriors."

But the English Council were insistent and they finally had their way. A treaty was concluded with Basalât Jung, involving the cession of Guntur and the dismissal of the French troops. They went without getting their arrears of pay. But the surrender of Guntur highly incensed the Nizam, who promptly took the French contingent into his service, and it needed all the diplomacy of Warren Hastings, by disavowing the Madras Council, to settle the imbroglio. Guntur was not given up. We find the Chevalier now in Hyderabad. In his Memoir to Vergennes he writes :—

"Son attachement pour la nation française, qu'il eut la maladresse de trop manifester le rendit suspect aux Anglais qui exigèrent son renvoye. Le Nabab d'Adonis eut la faiblesse de déferer à leur demande et retint au Sieur de Lalée plus de deux millions qui lui étaient dus, et dont il n'a jamais pû retirer un sol."

The archives of Pondichery possess an interesting series of letters from and to Monsieur de Montigny, the French agent at Poona,² which contain many references to de Lalée, who made repeated offers of service to the Mahrattas ; but Nana Farnavis kept on putting off the decision. Pourparlers of peace with the English rendered the employment of Lalée inadvisable, as Colonel Goddard was expected with two battalions. Lalée therefore turned to Haïder Ali and his first interview is described by Wilks :—

"He has been detached towards Kurnool and took that opportunity of coming over with a force of 100 European infantry, fifty European cavalry, 1,000 native infantry, and two guns—about one-fifth the number which he had stipulated to bring . . . He had been promised R. 5,000 a month as Commandant but received only R. 2,000. He demanded an audience and talked and gasconaded—"Be quiet", said Haïder, "and be grateful for getting so much. You have not fulfilled your stipulation ; and I have overpaid you in proportion to your numbers. I don't give an officer 5,000 R. a month for the beauty of his single nose."

de Lalée, as the sequel showed, mended neither his fortune nor his prestige. Haïder, self-made and self-seeking, was not one to make a regular alliance with any Indian potentate or with the French. The former hated and despised him as upstart and usurper—the latter

¹ The Mughals went to battle accompanied by their harem.

² Later Administrator of Chandernagore during the mimic "Revolution".

had long since disillusioned him. The empty promises of Piveron-de-Morlat and Maudave, of French intervention on a large scale which never came, because it could not come, had left him cold. Tipú, his son, was more intolerant and less generous. The singular conditions of the treaty of Versailles, by which a contest in India, which might have turned to his advantage, had to be suddenly suspended because of something that had happened in Europe, filled him with "rage and astonishment". He regarded the conduct of his French auxiliaries as base treachery. Even when seeking an alliance with the King of France in 1794, he stipulated that he would contract no alliance unless it were guaranteed that he would in future be a party to any treaty of peace; and would have direct control of any troops sent to India. "Your generals," he declared, "do not know how to make war in India, although very experienced in that of Europe."¹

de Lalée describes the part he played in Haider's last campaign in a letter to his brother dated 1st September, 1783²: It is very characteristic and shows him to be a little vainglorious, but loveable.

PART II

1st September, 1783.

"My dear Brother,

"You must have been surprised at a silence of four years. The period of the capture of Pondichery,³ signal of the war declared between France and England, made all the English in India my inveterate foes, who saw with the greatest jealousy that I still upheld the honour of the French flag in this country. They used all their influence to procure my dismissal from the service of Basalát-Jung, King of Adonis, whom I had served for the past twelve years. This contretemps, far from causing me to abandon the interests of the French nation, roused the desire to prove to France my inviolable attachment and to show Europe of what an audacious genius is capable. Indeed, far from disbanding my force of about 500 Europeans and 3,000 local militia, I found means to maintain this little army for ten months, both by my credit as well as from funds amounting to two millions⁴—the fruit of ten years' savings at Adonis.

¹ Report by Lescallier to the National Convention, Paris (15th October, 1794), Pondichery Archives.

² De Motz family papers, Rumilly.

³ Under Bellecombe in 1778.

⁴ His cousin Chevalier de Venillet (Vigy), in a letter from Pondichery to his brother, Chevalier d'Asnières, of 6th October, 1785, says Lalée's fortune was "at least three millions" (De Motz family papers, Rumilly).

“Almost entirely denuded of resources, everywhere pursued by an enemy furious that I was still able, despite their efforts, to gain respect for the white flag,¹ I made up my mind to enter the service of Haïder Ali Khan, the only prince in India capable of balancing the English, on condition that he declared war on that proud power. The prince kept his word and four months after I joined him made a descent upon the fine province of Arcade (Arcot), the delight of our insolent victors, on the 21st July, 1780. You have, no doubt, read in the papers of his conquests and progress. I send you the names of the places he has captured and of the places where he has fought as well as the names of the English generals who commanded in the various engagements. After three years of a continuous campaign, peace being concluded between the belligerents in Europe, I am obliged regretfully to cease hostilities; but it procures me the pleasure of giving you my news—the sole advantage that I derive from the peace.

“I think it useless, my dear brother, to give you details of my fortune. You must not imagine that an officer, jealous of his honour, can fill his pockets. I have, during the course of this long campaign, spent all I had and contracted heavy debts; but I have the advantage of having countered the proudest power in India, arrested its progress, and beaten in several encounters General Koote (Sir Eyre Coote) the conqueror of Lieut.-General de Lally. I have with pleasure saved the unhappy colony of Pondichery both from the violence of the English and the rapine of Haïder-Ali and protected the Dutch and Danish colonies. The English themselves must admit that, as an enemy, I have warred against them as a brave and capable soldier and that as a European I have rendered them all the services possible whenever the hazards of arms have made them my prisoners. I count as nothing, my dear brother, the dissipation of my fortune, having obtained such a fine career. My conduct, both military and civil, was approved of by Brigadier-General Duchemin when he landed in India, and subsequently by the Marquis de Bussy, Lieut.-General, who was good enough to express his satisfaction to me by granting all the officers of my party a grade superior to what they held and by promising to acquaint the King with my conduct and commend my services to him. Glory was ever my ambition.

“Up to the present I have not informed you, dear brother, that I was nominated by the King in 1775 a Major of Infantry, and in

¹ The Royalist flag, which was a white field sown with fleur-de-lys.

1777 gazetted Colonel, with the Cross of St. Louis. I hope the King will not confine himself to these favours and that I shall be able to revisit the homeland covered with honour and glory. You will not blush, I think, to embrace a brother whose actions have merited the applause of the whole of India ; such is my hope with which I flatter myself without fear of contradiction. . . .

“ I perceive, my dear brother, that this long epistle must try your patience, but four years of silence called for a detailed explanation from me of its cause and I rely on your good heart to enter into my difficulties and labour and to realize that it was impossible for me to give you my news. You, more tranquil and less exposed to the rattle of cannon and musketry, what might be the reason for your silence, as I have not received any letter since the one handed me by M. de Saint-Martin ? ¹ Your excuse cannot be admissible, especially as regards a brother who has always loved you with sincere affection. Give me, please, news of my father ² and mother, ³ for whom I shall ever preserve a boundless respect. Happy shall I be if, on learning of my conduct, they still consider me worthy to bear the name of their son. Please embrace with the most fraternal affection all my brothers and sisters to whom I shall ever remain attached. It is in these same sentiments that you will ever find me, my dear brother.

Your very humble and obedient servant and affectionate brother,
 Le Chevalier DeMott Delalée [*sic*],
 Colonel of Infantry.

“ *Precis of the actions and sieges undertaken in India*
by the Nabab Aëderali Kam (Haïder-Ali)

“ Aëderali Kam (Haïder-Ali Khan) having resolved on declaring war on the English, as arranged with me, passed the mountains that separate the province of Arcot from his territory on the 21st July, 1780, with an army of 25,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry, fifty field pieces, and a great quantity of warlike munitions. After having forced the mountain-pass ⁴ he seized Sergaman, ⁵ which made little resistance. From there he came to Poulour, ⁶ Ternematet, ⁷ Chatampet, ⁸ and several other places which all surrendered. Then

¹ This was Mr. Escapat de St. Martin, an officer under Bussy.

² He had died in May, 1782.

³ His mother survived till 1790.

⁴ The Changama Pass.

⁵ Changama.

⁶ Pollur, a town in North Arcot, forty miles south-west of Conjeveram.

⁷ Trinamalai ?

⁸ Chittapet ?

the English, little expecting so swift an attack, and surprised at the victor's progress, took steps to oppose these conquests; hastily assembling below Madras an army of about 25,000 men and summoning from the north Colonel Belley¹ (Baillie), who had 10,000 men under him.

"The army assembled at Madras, marched to Conjiveron² under the orders of General Monerow (Monro). Colonel Belley received orders to join that general with his forces. The Nabab, to oppose their junction, marched with part of his forces against Colonel Belley, met him near Folkol,³ a village three leagues from Conjeveram, gave battle and entirely defeated the Colonel almost within sight of the general who had set out to succour his colleague. The Europeans and sepoys were either captured or killed. Twenty guns and most of their equipment were taken. General Monerow, on learning of this defeat, retired precipitously below Senelipet⁴ and thence under Madras leaving behind all his equipment to the pursuing cavalry. This important victory determined the Prince to invest Arcade,⁵ which was carried by assault on the 1st November, 1780. Satgany,^{5a} Eniboury,⁶ Gingy, and many other places that were attacked capitulated. The English, fearing greatly for their capital, brought from Bengal a corps of 10,000 men with general Kootte⁷ to take command of the army. This general, having learned that M. Doure,⁸

¹ Colonel Baillie had just taken over the command of Colonel Harper's detachment at Guntur. From Guntur he marched southward with 150 Europeans and 2,000 sepoys.

² Conjeveram.

³ Folkol [Pacol, Facol], actually Pullalūr, near Pallūr of the Wālājā Taluq, where Baillie was attacked (Manual of North Arcot district). Colonel Baillie's fatal error was to have halted and not marched on another eight miles, when he would probably have effected a junction with Monro. He also neglected to seize the village of Pullalūr. It was the explosion of his two tumbrils that precipitated the disaster, after he had made a most gallant stand. Kirmani gives credit to M. de Lalée for the incident: "Lally the Frenchman discovering with the telescope of his intellect and science the position of the enemy's ammunition, fired a shot from a heavy gun at the Colonel's tumbrils, all of which had been collected in one place. By accident the ammunition blew up... seven-eighths of the whole were put to the sword, and but for the humane interposition of the French commanders Lally and Pimoran (the Chevalier de Puymorin), who implored and insisted with the conqueror to show mercy, the gallant remains of our little army must have fallen a sacrifice to that savage thirst of blood with which the tyrant disgraced his victory" (narrative of an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment).

⁴ Chingleput.

⁵ Arcot.

^{5a} Santghar (?)

⁶ Amboor ?

⁷ Sir Eyre Coote.

⁸ Le Chevalier d'Orvès, who was in command before the arrival of Suffren.

commanding a squadron of six French vessels had anchored before Pondichery, took up a position a league distant from that place to oppose his descent. The Nabab, then at the north of Arcade, made a forced march with all his forces to Valdore and took up a position at a little distance from the English, with the intention of attacking them after a rest. The General, fearing to be involved in an action, suddenly decamped, marching on Godelour.¹ The prince, who had just made a forced march of thirty leagues, did not hesitate to pursue the English army, reached its rear-guard about nine in the evening, defeated it entirely, and seized four guns, all tents, munitions of war, and kitchen equipment. The darkness of the night enabled General Kootte to retire under protection of the guns at Godelour, where he entrenched. The Nabab kept him blockaded for some days and the war, from that moment, was at an end on the Coromandel Coast ; if M. d'Orvès had chosen to land a thousand Frenchmen from his squadron, General Kootte would have laid down his arms or his lines would have been forced. But in spite of the prince's earnest remonstrances he refused and, thanks to this imprudence, enabled the English to organize an extensive defence in the Carnatic, which secured that province to them at the recent peace. The Nabab, wishing to crush his enemies, wrote to the Governor of the Isles for succour. While awaiting his answer, he marched on Tanjam² where he detached me to reduce Naouris (?). I captured the garrison and blew up the fortifications. After several other expeditions in this province I rejoined the Nabab below Trichinapoli. He seized Evichatingam (?) and made a swift march against General Kootte, who had come as far as Boutenoor³ to besiege Chalembour.^{3a} He engaged him between Boutenour and Godelour. The English lost many officers of mark and more than 3,000 of their best troops, which obliged them to retire on Senelipet⁴ after leaving a strong garrison at Goudelour. The Prince, on his side, marched to cover his conquest and encamped in the neighbourhood of Folkol, where General Kootte, after having received reinforcements from the north, came to attack him. The combat was obstinate and lasted from

¹ Cuddalore.

² Tanjore.

³ Porto-Novo (Port.), called by Indians "Farangi-pettai" or European town : Kirmani calls it "Mahmood Bunder", the Mysoreans called it Mootypolliam.

^{3a} Chilambaram.

⁴ Chingleput.

morning till evening.¹ The Nawab then retired three leagues from the battlefield, intending to resume the fight on the morrow. General Kootte, who had suffered much, slept all night under arms and retired at three o'clock in the morning below Fegispam,² and from there entrenched himself in the Lommerage³ mountains, where we went to attack a detachment which the English general had left behind him as cover. Colonel Cain (Owen), commanding this corps, lost his equipment and four guns and only escaped with a few survivors, thanks to the woods and mountains. The Nabab sent his son and me to reduce a little fort that served as a storehouse to the English. We captured several siege-pieces. The rains were so heavy that we were compelled to raise the siege of Fregapour (?).^{3a}

"The English army profited by this bad weather to retire under Madras by the gorges of Calistin,⁴ whence after being completely refitted they proceeded to march on Arcade.

"The Nabab took up a position to counter these designs. He entrusted a corps of troops to his son to act in accordance with circumstances. I was with them. General Kootte had sown treachery in the Nabab's army with three chiefs named Bowvrage,⁵ Calvitis,⁵ and Incolgearis.⁵ Favoured by these three traitors the English found means to fall on Haider Ali's camp without warning, as he was reviewing his troops. Having scarcely time to re-form them, he lost much ground and even a battery of twelve guns which was in advance of his camp.

"Our flying camp, which had settled some two leagues to the rear of the English, now advanced and arrived sufficiently early to arrest the progress of General Kootte, who, finding himself attacked in the rear by the fire of fourteen guns, was forced to abandon the fruits of a victory he had counted as certain. He retired to the mountains, leaving the twelve guns he had previously captured, four of his own, and several chariots. Foiled in his dearest hopes, he was content to revictual elsewhere, passing through almost inaccessible gorges where he was harassed with heavy loss of life.

¹ The Battle of Porto-Novo was signalized by a great cavalry charge led by Haider in person, which was repulsed. Kirmani calls it "a great defeat and dispersion of the victorious troops".

² Malleon says he retired to Tripasur.

³ The Pollams ?

^{3a} Fregapatam

⁴ Sholingur.

⁵ The three western poligars involved in this affair were Karvetnagar, also called Bombraz (Chittore), Kalasti (Chittore), and Venkatagiri (Nellore).

"The Nabab next reduced Chiloum¹ and several other places. The English general had returned below Madras and the Nabab, having been informed that Colonel Betwet (Brathwaite) was forming a corps on the south on the banks of the Caloum, dispatched me with his son to oppose him. We made such speed that the Colonel could not have notice of our march and we found ourselves in presence of the army, which we immediately attacked the very day that Commander de Suffren was fighting the English squadron.

"After having fought Colonel Betwet all day we remained in battle order on the field, intending to renew the fight on the morrow. M. Betwet, however, attempted to escape under cover of night. On learning this we kept him under observation during the night and at dawn that officer, not wishing to make a stand, made a running fight, having taken care to place a river between us. Unable to bring on a decisive action without cutting off his retreat, I detached a corps of infantry and four guns to take up a position on the route. This manœuvre executed with the desired success, about eleven o'clock in the morning Colonel Betwet, finding himself surrounded, laid down his arms and surrendered himself and his army to our discretion.²

"After this victory we encamped at Boutenour, where Brigadier-General Du Chemin had landed with 2,000 French, who marched on Cuddalore, which they captured. The Nabab's army marched on Permacoul,³ which surrendered. The Nabab, knowing that General Kootte was marching on Arny,⁴ gained its neighbourhood by a forced march and an action ensued, very bloody on both sides. If the French army had taken part in this expedition the English would have been lost. I cannot permit myself any other reflections.

¹ Chillumbrum (Chidambaram).

² Delalée's conduct on this occasion, as on the surrender of Colonel Baillie's detachment, merits the highest praise. Tipús Mémoires state :—

"Dès que le carnage eut cessé le soin des blessés et des prisonniers fut confié à Lally qui les traita avec la générosité compagne du vrai courage et se montra aussi humain dans le camp qu'il avait paru intrépide au milieu du feu. Ainsi les meilleurs et les plus braves soldats furent toujours les plus compatissants envers leurs ennemis désarmés.

"Mémoires de Typoo-Zaeb Sultan de Maissour écrits par lui même ; publiés par Antoine Fantin-Desodoards citoyen français, 2 vol., Paris, Bridel, 1796. Bibl. Nat. O²K 357."

The interest attaching to these memoirs lies in the fact that the translation made about 1784 is attributed to de Lalée. It was badly done and revised by no less a person than Mirabeau.

³ Perumukkal.

⁴ Arni.

"I was again dispatched, after this affair, with the Nabab's son to the south to reduce Mauverun.¹ The place being at the last straits, the garrison evacuated it in the night and retired to Trichinopoly. Seeing this we pursued, overtook them at daylight, and completely routed them, after which we captured a little place opposite Chelnigam² where we took 500 prisoners and captured six field pieces. Hardly was this expedition concluded when the Nabab's son and I received orders to march to the Malabar Coast, where Colonels Mouleaw (Macleod) and Mathiew (Mathews), with 1,000 Europeans and 6,000 sepoys had arrived. They had already penetrated as far as Dechalat (?),^{2a} which they were investing, but they promptly abandoned it at our approach. We pursued them as far as Vacmoy (?),^{2b} inflicting great loss. We should have forced them to re-embark or to lay down their arms if the Nabab's son had not been obliged to retire on receiving intelligence of the death of his father, Haider-Ali Khan.

"The young prince left me in command of his infantry and artillery, while he proceeded by forced marches with his cavalry to the outskirts of Arcot to take over the succession and assume the command of the grand army. I proceeded to join him with the rest of the flying camp after a continuous march of twenty-five days.

"Mr. le Comte d'Assellerie (d'Hofelize), commanding the French army, also repaired to his camp. The new monarch, in concert with the French commander, marched on Bandavachis,³ where the English army, under Colonel Schard,⁴ had proceeded, but did not risk a combat. On the contrary, on learning of our march he retired on Surichyset (?). The Prince, obliged to march to quell a revolt on the west of his territory, left a corps of about 10,000 men to the French, who gave him a battalion of the regiment of Ile de France commanded by Lieut.-Colonel de Cassigny. He marched with the rest of his army and this corps on Bidavur,⁵ whose governor, commanding all the Malabar Coast, had revolted on learning the death of Haider Ali, and called the English to his help. He had ceded Nagard⁶ and some other places to them. General Mathiew, commander-in-chief of the English forces on the Malabar Coast, had come in person to Nagard for the defence of that place.

"In spite of all his efforts the valour of the French overcame all

¹ Mayaveram.

^{2b} Ponnani.

⁵ Bednore.

² Srirangam.

³ Wandewash.

⁶ Nagar or Haidar Nagar nr. Bednore.

^{2a} Palghat.

⁴ Stuart.

difficulties and the English general was obliged to surrender to the new Prince, who made himself master of several other places of which the English had been placed in possession by the traitor. Our entire army then marched upon Mangalon,¹ the investment of which was pressed with vigour by the Prince, who then returned to the Coromandel Coast, where the Marquis de Bussy, with considerable forces, had arrived. That general, in conjunction with the troops of the Prince, could have besieged Madras. But, ready to subdue Mangalore, we received intelligence from the Marquis de Bussy of the conclusion of peace in Europe, with an order enjoining me as well as M. de Cossigny to cease all hostilities against the English. The Marquis invited the Prince to accede to a suspension of arms which had already been effected on the Coromandel Coast, promising him to employ all his credit to make his peace with the English.

"The young Prince, wounded by a blow so unexpected, agreed to the suspension of arms and awaited the effect of French mediation between him and his enemies.

"Here is a précis of the three campaigns of the present war between the English, Aïder Ali Khan, and his son. I had the honour to participate in all the general actions in which I fought with equal honour and sagacity ; and the son of Aïder Ali Khan, being charged with special expeditions and nearly all the sieges, demanded my services from Aïder Ali Khan to act as his adviser and to direct the operations, in which I was fortunate enough to succeed to his satisfaction. The truth of this may be attested by the French generals and even the English, whose power I flatter myself to have thwarted in India.

I am your affectionate brother,
Le Chevalier DeMots Delalée."

There is an anecdote ² of de Lalée, related by Mgr. Charbonnaux, first Vicar-Apostolic of Mysore, the learned author of a Latin-Canara dictionary, that is worth repeating :—

"In a fight in which the French general Lally commanded, six hundred prisoners were taken ; the Moorish general condemned them to have their noses cut off. They were arranged in ranks, the executioners appeared, with orders not to lose count of a single nose. Among the prisoners were two Christian Telingas, father and

¹ Mangalore.

² *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde*, Adrien Launay, 1898, vol. i, v, 136.

son, in an agony of concern. The father felt that he had no other recourse except to the Blessed Virgin. He told his son Xavier to go on his knees and chant with him the *Salve Regina* in their own language. Both on their knees began to intone in a loud voice the Catholic antiphon to the Blessed Virgin. Hearing their chant of a hymn well known to all Christians, some men from the army of the Europeans asked them if they were Christians: they replied with courage, and perhaps with a ray of hope, that as her sons they were invoking Mary. The news was carried to the French general, who was seized with the desire to rescue them. He had them placed in the last rank and during the operation he found means to effect their escape. When the sack containing the severed noses was brought to the Moorish Prince he had them counted and two being found short he flew into a rage with the executioners, whereupon he was told that the French general had caused two men to escape. He summoned the general and demanded brusquely what had happened to two prisoners, as he complained that two noses had been abstracted. The general retorted that he was not Tipú Sahib's slave; that if, for two poor noses saved, they were going to quibble, he would retire with his troop. Seeing this the Moor was silent. And thus were our two Christians saved by the protection of Mary."

As early as 9th March, 1789, de Canaple, Commandant of Mahé writing to de Conway, Governor of Pondichery, says that Le Chevalier de Vigy was [now] charged with all the expeditions that the Nabab entrusted to the French party in his service, the infirmities of Mr. de Lalée not permitting the latter to conduct them.

One of the last feats of the Chevalier was his capture, in May, 1790, of the lines of defence of Travancore and the entrenched camp and fort of Cranganore, defended by "400 canon of various calibres" and a "vast number of troops". This was after the disastrous repulse of Tipú in January, when the Travancoreans, led by English officers, decimated his troops and the Sultan lost his horses and palanquin and fled in disguise. Delalée, advising de Fresne of his brilliant success, promises to defend the French factories on the Malabar Coast in case the war is transferred to that quarter. In January, 1790, writing to de Fresne, he expresses the desire to be useful to France: "If," he writes, "false prejudices have alienated the mind of my chief I have at least the satisfaction of not having given ground for them."

The disarmament of Pondichery, he fears, will greatly facilitate England's ambitions with regard to India. Tipú Sultan is the sole Indian prince able to resist their designs, with the support of France ; but the English will raise up so many enemies against him that he will succumb. It reads like a prophecy. When questioned by Tipú on his chances of success in a war with the English, he advised him to avoid it at any cost.

M. de Lalée died at Dharapuram on the 7th October, 1790. Venillet de Vigy, in a letter "from camp" dated 13th October, 1790, to de Fresne writes of the "illness which conducted M. de Lalée to his grave on the 7th October last before Darrapour, which is a little place that the prince recaptured from the English".¹ This statement seems to disprove the *Calcutta Gazette* announcement of 18th November, 1790, that he died of wounds received at the action at Satyamangalam on 14th September. Immediately after his death de Lalée's cousin Vigy was invested by Tipú with the command of the troop. There is no account of de Lalée's death. His Chaplain, Abbé Grandmottet—the only missionary who was permitted to remain in Tipú's State—had died of fever at Cochin five months earlier. But his name survived. In the pages of *The History of Tipú Sultan*, by Kirmani, we find in reference to the capture of Bangalore and the defence of Seringapatam the French contingent is still called that of Monsieur Lally. Without partiality we may ascribe to him the character given by Lewis Ferdinand Smith to Raymond :

"He was a brave soldier . . . magnificent, generous, affable, and vigilant. He had talents combined with prudence."

In the cemetery at Dharapuram is a ruined monument to "Father Peter", a Jesuit missionary accidentally killed by Tipú's troops. In front of this monument are three graves—one that of J. A. Nuthal, aged seven and a half months, obit. 1807 ; the other two nameless but obviously commemorating Europeans. Some 300 yards further is "a tall military tomb in the form of a cone". It was pointed out by some Indian Christians as the grave of "one Rustum", a European.²

¹ It may be mentioned to Tipú's credit—not by any means a heavy score—that he spared the garrison of 150 Europeans and about 400 sepoys.

² I am indebted for these particulars to the late Mrs. Alice Wilkinson, to Mr. Cyril Woodhouse, Collector of Coimbatore, and to the Executive Engineer of the District. Also to His Lordship the Catholic Bishop of Coimbatore, Rev. R. Boyls, the Procurator, and Fr. S. J. Arpudam, parish priest of Dharapuram.

THE LEGEND THAT AL-WALĪD ASKED FOR AND OBTAINED HELP FROM THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR. A SUGGESTED EXPLANATION

By K. A. C. CRESWELL

ARABIC AUTHORS ARE fond of recording the help that al-Walīd received from the Byzantine Emperor when he was building the Mosque of Madīna and the Great Mosque of Damascus.

Let us take Madīna first. Balādhurī (c. 868) merely states that "al-Walid wrote to 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, his Governor at Madīna, ordering him to demolish the mosque and reconstruct it. He had money, mosaics and marble sent to him and eighty Rūmī and Coptic craftsmen, *inhabitants of Syria and Egypt . . .*"¹

This account, the earliest that we have, *makes no mention of help from the Byzantine Emperor*, but it appears shortly after in quite another form in Ya'qūbī (874) as follows:—

"al-Wāqidī relates: al-Walīd sent to the Emperor of Rūm informing him that he had demolished the Mosque of the Prophet of God, so let him help him with regard to it; so he sent him 100,000 *mithqāl* of gold and one hundred workmen and forty loads of mosaic, and al-Walīd sent all of that to 'Umar and he repaired the mosque and finished [re-]building it in the year 90 (708-9)." ²

Nevertheless Dīnawarī (d. 895), referring to the same event, reduces the help sent to 40 *wasq* of mosaics,³ but Ṭabarī (915) repeats the figures given by Ya'qūbī.⁴

By the thirteenth century this account has become so garbled that, according to Yāqūt, it is the *Byzantine Emperor* who sends the Rūmīs and Copts to Madīna,⁵ an absurdity as far as the latter are concerned, for Byzantine rule in Egypt had come to an end seventy years earlier. Samhūdī, two centuries later, repeats the same story.⁶

Now let us take Damascus. The earliest author to mention the Byzantine Emperor in connection with the Great Mosque is the very early Muslim historian Ibn Qutayba (d. 889), who says: "al-Riyāshī says: 'When al-Walīd pulled down (*hadama*) the Church of Damascus, the King of the Greeks wrote to him: 'You have

¹ *Futūḥ*, p. 6, l. 18—p. 7, l. 2.

² Ed. of Guigass, p. 329, ll. 15 ff.

³ *Mu'jam*, iv, p. 466, ll. 12 ff.

⁴ *Ta'rikh*, ii, p. 340, ll. 5-9.

⁵ ii, p. 1194, ll. 2-9.

⁶ Būlāq ed., 1285 H., p. 139.

pulled down the church which your father thought it right to leave intact. But if that was right your father was wrong, and if that was erroneous you are in disagreement with him.”¹ Three centuries later this account is completely turned round by Ibn ‘Asākir (d. 1176), according to whom it was al-Walid who wrote to the Byzantine Emperor. Here is his account: “When al-Walid ibn ‘Abd al-Malik wanted to build the Mosque of Damascus, he needed a great number of workmen, so he wrote to the *Tāghiya* [= the Byzantine Emperor]: “Send me 200 *Rūmī* workmen, for I wish to construct a mosque, the like of which has never been built and never will be again. If you do not comply I will invade your country with my armies. I will destroy all the churches in my territory, including those of Jerusalem, Edessa, and all the *Rūmī* monuments.’ The *Tāghiya*, seeking to stop him from building it and to weaken his resolve, wrote: ‘Truly, if your father understood this matter and neglected it, that was a blot on him; but if you were the first to understand it and it was hidden from your father, then it would be a blot on you [*i.e. to disgrace his memory by bringing his shortcomings to light*]. Albeit, I am sending the workmen.’”²

Ibn Jubayr (1184), in his version, repeats the story of the threatening message, but the 200 workmen became 12,000.³ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1326) of course repeats Ibn Jubayr,⁴ and the threatening message story is repeated by al-‘Umarī (1344),⁵ Ibn Shākir (d. 1362),⁶ ‘Ilmāwī (1566),⁷ etc.

Now the assertion that al-Walid asked for and obtained help from the Byzantine Emperor is suspect for two reasons, as my collaborator Mlle Marguerite van Berchem has already pointed out in her masterly study, *The Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem and of the Great Mosque at Damascus*,⁸ first because the earliest account concerning the Mosque of Madīna and the earliest account concerning the Great Mosque of Damascus makes no mention of such help, secondly because Ibn ‘Asākir, in the twelfth century, makes the

¹ *Uyūn al-Akhbar*, Brockelmann's ed., *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie*, xix, Beiheft, p. 240, ll. 2-5.

² Damascus MS., i, fol. 156a, ll. 19 ff.

³ de Goeje's ed., p. 261, ll. 13 ff.

⁴ i, pp. 199-200.

⁵ *Masālik al-Absār*, i, p. 183, ll. 8-10.

⁶ In Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, ii (1), p. 265.

⁷ Sauvaire's transl., *Journal Asiatique*, 9^{ème} sér., vii, p. 193.

⁸ In my *Early Muslim Architecture*, i, pp. 163-6.

Khalif write to the Byzantine Emperor, whereas according to the ninth-century version it was the latter who wrote to al-Walid to complain of his demolition of the church, and thirdly the historical circumstances, that is to say, the bad relations existing at this time between the Khalif and the Emperor which render such help or such a request unlikely.

Nevertheless, I have long felt that in this case and in similar ones, when the historical statements are difficult to believe, there is generally *an explanation* to be found, e.g. I have shown that the story of the partition of the church at Damascus arose from the partition of the *temenos*.¹ Similarly I believe that I have found an explanation of the story that al-Walid asked for and obtained help from the Byzantine Emperor, viz. that the transposition of a perfectly credible event has taken place.

As is now well known, the Abyssinians before Islam invaded Southern Arabia on no less than four occasions, the last one having taken place about A.D. 531, under the Abyssinian General Abraha. Now the Abyssinians had been converted to Christianity under their King Ēzānā in 460, and Abraha, after his victory, built a church at Ṣan'ā'. Ṭabarī records this event, saying: "Abraha, after the Negus had pardoned his offence and confirmed him in his Province, built this church in marvellous fashion such as had never before been seen, with gold and wonderful paintings, and he wrote to Kaisar that he intended to build a church at Ṣan'ā' to be a monument of lasting fame and he begged Kaisar to help him in the matter, and so Kaisar helped him *with workmen and mosaics and marble*."²

Here we have a perfectly credible account of a Christian Governor, wishing to build a fine church after his victory, writing to a Christian Emperor for aid. Note also the close similarity to the act attributed to al-Walid and the close similarity to the help sent—*workmen and mosaics and marble* (compare this with Balādhurī above). Moreover, and here is another possible source of confusion, the Byzantine Emperor at this time was Justinian I (A.D. 527–565) and the Byzantine Emperor when al-Walid began his mosque was Justinian II A.D. 705–711).

There is a long description of the church of Ṣan'ā' in Azrāqī

¹ *Early Muslim Architecture*, i, pp. 123–35.

² i, p. 935; translated in Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus . . . Ṭabarī*, p. 205.

(d. 858)¹ and much later in Abū Ṣāliḥ.² It was therefore well known in early Islam, so much so that when Ibn az-Zubayr was rebuilding the Ka'ba in 684, after its destruction by the Syrian army, Mas'ūdī tells us that mosaics (*fusaiḥisā'*) and three marble columns were taken from this church and employed in the new structure.³

I suggest that the men who took this material away from this famous church were told something of its history, and how workmen, mosaics and marble had been sent by the Byzantine Emperor, and that this story was gradually transposed and applied to al-Walīd's work at Mādina and Damascus.

¹ Wüstenfeld's ed., *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, pp. 88-9.

² *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, Evetts' ed., p. 138; transl., pp. 300-1.

³ *Prairies*, v, pp. 192-3.

REMARKS ON THE SOUTH-ARABIAN INSCRIPTIONS HAMILTON 3-13

By A. JAMME, W.F.

THE SOUTH-ARABIAN inscriptions Hamilton 3-13,¹ as well as a few small sculptures, were found by Major the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton in Šabwat (Ḥaḍramawt) in 1938 and given to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, in 1952. Both sculptures and texts were published recently in this journal (April, 1954, pp. 43-63) by W. L. Brown and A. F. L. Beeston in a very interesting article on "Sculptures and Inscriptions from Shabwat".

Mr. Beeston, after seeing the first draft of this article, sent me an important note² and I am indebted to him for having kindly put at my disposal the photographs of Hamilton 3, 6, 10, 11, and 12 (not reproduced in the above mentioned article), as well as to Mr. Brown, of the Ashmolean Museum, for authorizing publication of drawings.³

Hamilton 3 (p. 51).—The upper third of the letters is missing, but the horizontal stroke of the first *k* and of *s* is still visible on the photograph. The extant text may be the last or the last but one line of a large inscription, because the top has been cut again and the fracture of the right side does not allow us to estimate where the line started. Besides, it is rather difficult to tell on the photograph whether the left side is original or was re-cut like the upper side. In the first hypothesis there is space for only two letters after the second *bn/*: namely *w* or *ʿ* and one of the following characters: *g*, *d*, *h*, *ḥ*, *y*, *l*, *n*, etc.; since a family name formed by only two letters is extremely rare, we must probably suppose another line shorter than the present one. In the second hypothesis, however,

¹ For Hamilton 1-2, cf. A. F. L. Beeston, "Two Shabwa Inscriptions," in *Le Muséon*, 60 (1947), pp. 51-5, and pl. i; for *dt/hšwlm*, a new name of the sun goddess mentioned in Hamilton 2/2, cf. my article "Une nouvelle épithète de la déesse solaire ḥaḍramoutique", in *Le Muséon*, 61 (1948), pp. 59-64.

² Except in Hamilton 13, the quotations from Beeston in the present article and not followed by the pagination, come from his letter of 26th October, 1954.

³ The drawing reproduced with this article is a little less than half the size of the original and shows the upper part of Hamilton 3, the entire specimens Hamilton 6 and 11, the text of Hamilton 10 and its last interior frame, and finally the texts of Hamilton 12. In the original drawing, in comparison with the photographs, Hamilton 3, 6, and 11 are at full scale; Hamilton 10 at half scale, and Hamilton 12 at double scale, because of the smallness of its inscriptions.

the stone was cut just on the right of the vertical stroke belonging to a letter such as *l* or *n*; if that letter was *h*, its shaft would be a little more to the left.—Before *yṯṯkrb*, [.../w] is probably to be restored; *b* is impossible. I suggest reading the end of the line /bn/[^c or *w*]. [...]. The restoration of the second and following letters is practically impossible.

This text is palaeographically identical with Jamme 532 and 533¹ (Fakhry 53A + 54 + 53B and 52). The characteristics of the script are the following: the horizontal stroke of *n* divides the letter into two equal parts with two right angles; the lower part of letters such as *b*, *k*, and *s* occupies the two lower thirds of the height of the letter; the circle of ^c and of both *y* and *t* is perfectly round; and finally, the *m* is formed by two *scalene* triangles.

Hamilton 4 (pp. 51-3).

1. 2. [...]: names such as, e.g., [*m^cd^c*]*l*, [*s^cd^c*]*l* are as possible as [*yḏ^c*]*l*.

1. 3. *kbr/nzḥt*, translated by Beeston as "kabir-magistrate of Outlanders". *nzḥt* seems to be a proper name² here as well as in RÉS 2726/3-4 (Sabæan) and 3951 (Sabæan), where *nzḥt* is mentioned with other tribe names: *fyšn*,³ *'rb^cn*, and *'ḥšrn*, whose interpretation as common nouns would yield an unintelligible translation, and whose translation as proper names would not be of any help. Besides, even if *nazaḥa* means "to be distant", classical Arabic⁴ and especially modern South-Arabian dialects⁵ indicate as the first meaning "to exhaust (a well)"; which seems to be preferable. On the other hand, if *nzḥt* means "Outlanders", there is nothing in the text indicating that they were Sabæans. Finally, the Ḥaḍrami

¹ Cf. my article "Inscriptions de al-ʿAmāyid à Māreb," in *Le Muséon*, 68 (1955), pp. 314-7.

² Cf. also A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabæan Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1937, pp. 71 and 72. G. Ryckmans' book *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* (Louvain, 1934, i, 304) mentions *nzḥt* among the "noms de groupes ethniques"; this expression covers both clan and tribe names.

³ *fyšn* in CIH 418/2-3 (cf. Sidney Smith, in *Vetus Testamentum*, ii, p. 287), as object of *mḥnt*, cannot possibly be the name of an individual member of a group or class; and the word *mḥnt* refers to *smḥly*.

⁴ Cf., e.g., G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon arabico-latinum*, p. 608 A; A. de Biberstein Kasimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, p. 1234 A, and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, ii, p. 655 B.

⁵ Cf. Landberg, *Ḥaḍramūt*, Leiden, 1901, p. 721, and *Glossaire daïnois*, Leiden, iii (1942), p. 2761 (this latter also gives as secondary meaning of this root, first form, "to fly").

parallel RÉS 4877/2-3: *kbr*/'*mhrn*¹ suggests, according to Beeston's translation of this text, the translation of *kbr* in Hamilton 4/2 "chief" and not "kabir-magistrate".

Hamilton 5 (p. 53).

1. 1. According to Beeston, "we have evidently the end of a theophorous name compounded with the name of ... Hawbas." This is not necessary; for the beginning of this line, I should compare CIH 375/1 (also a boustrophedon text): *tb'krb*/'*ršw*/'*qārn*/'*qyn*/'*šhr*/'—/'*bn*/'*dmr*'*ly* "Taba'karib, priest of [the goddess] Dāt-Gadarān, administrator of [the star god] Saḥar, —, son of Damar'alay".

1. 2. *ywm*/'*h*' "when he consecrated"; *y* between *h* and ' although very clear on the photograph, is omitted by Beeston. For *hy*': *h*' (cf., e.g., RÉS 3946/7), the authors customarily refer to N. Rhodokanakis: "*hy*' hat zwei Bedeutungen, von denen die eine sakrale ist, die andere mit Bewässerungsanlagen zusammenhängt."² In the texts mentioning irrigation works (CIH 611/7-8; 617; RÉS 2653 and 3556 C/6-7) as well as in the other inscriptions, *h(y)*' means only "to build a heavy construction". When the construction is in some way religious, *h(y)*' refers to the pure act of building a construction; cf. the parallel of *gn*/'*ml*[']*rbm*/'*byt*/'*lmqh* (RÉS 3950) "he walled Ma[']jarbum, the temple of 'Ilumquh" and *gn*/'*hgrn* (RÉS 2850 B) "the wall of the city". The preceding parallel illustrates the meaning of *h(y)*' in RÉS 3945/15 and 3946/7.³ In CIH 374 and 375, the noun *mhy*' engraved on the enclosure wall of Maḥram Bilqis refers not to the temple itself, but to the wall as a heavy construction; and there is no proof that this enclosure wall has ever been used as a place of sacrifice. Another important text is CIH 338 (GI 1209)/10: *wtqdm*/'*m*'*hrm*/'*ln*/'*mhy*'*tn* "and Mu'ahirum directed the building of these heavy constructions".⁴ The lines 7-10 consist of only one series of several masonry works; the first half mentions profane constructions: a well (l. 7), a field (l. 7), the road of a citadel (l. 7), a reservoir (l. 7), a wall (l. 8).

¹ For *mhr*, cf. also *mhr* "être habile", *tmhr* "travailler" and *mahrat*, pl. *mihar* "travail, métier" (Landberg, *Glossaire datinois*, pp. 2722-3).

² *Studien zur Lexicographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen*, Vienna, ii (1917), p. 14.

³ In CIH 99/9, the direct object of the three verbs is missing; for CIH 366, cf. S. Smith, in *Vetus Testamentum*, ii, pp. 285-6.

⁴ A. F. L. Beeston, *Sabaeen Inscriptions*, p. 37: "and M'HRm took charge of (the building of) these altars."

and a house (l. 8); the second half presents the names of several different altars (ll. 8-10). This unique series grammatically depends on the same verb *tqdm* in the beginning of l. 7; consequently all the profane buildings must be understood, as part of 'ln/mhy'fn and *mhy'* cannot have a fundamentally religious meaning, but must be rendered by "heavy construction" as all those profane constructions are indeed.

.../nb/sbw[h/ { $\begin{matrix} wšr/... \\ nyq/... \end{matrix} \} /... \leftarrow 1 ... \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{priest} \\ \text{adminis-} \\ \text{trator} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ of } H]awbas, \\ \text{son of } [... \\ ...]haw/ywcm/[h] \text{ } ^{\text{r}}y^{\text{c}}[... \rightarrow 2 ... \text{his } ..., \text{ when he built the} \\ \text{heavy construction of } ...$

Hamilton 6 (p. 53).—According to photograph, this fragment could be the base of a proscynema.—Beeston is right in reading *b* at the beginning; letters such as *g* or *l* would be too close to the following *n*, and letters such as *'*, *k*, or *s* would show the left extremity of the horizontal stroke. *bn* is either the noun "son" or the last two letters of a personal name such as, e.g., *krbn*.—for *nb'm*, cf. the personal names *nb't* in RÉS 3902, No. 177, and *nb'* in Thamudic, cf. A. van den Branden, *Les inscriptions thamoudéennes*, Louvain, 1950, pp. 220-1: HU 681/2.

.../] { $\begin{matrix} ^{\text{r}}b^{\text{r}}n/nb'm \\ ... \end{matrix} \} \text{ son of } \\ \text{...}] b^{\text{r}}n \text{ [of the family of]} \} \text{Nabi'um.}$

As regards palæography, the present text is related to Jamme 232 and 243, and presents the following characteristics: the three left strokes of *m* are lightly curved and the extremities of the vertical strokes bear the well-known triangle; unfortunately, the word divider between the two examples of *n* is much too wide as compared with the other vertical strokes.

Hamilton 7 (pp. 54-5).

l. 1. In the centre there is the lower part of a vertical stroke identical to that of *q* (l. 2), on its left, the two lower ends of *t*; I should restore .../] $^{\text{r}}qt^{\text{r}}[bn/...$

l. 2. [.]*mdm*. Beeston rightly reads this word as [h]*mdm*, mimated infinitive form usually translated "in thanks; in gratitude"; however, there is no reason to change the meaning of *hmd* "to praise, glorify"; *hmdm* must be rendered "in praise".

l. 3. *wšl* can be translated "bond, obligation;" cf. Arabic *wašala*, the first meaning of which is "to join, unite;" the modern

RÉS 3971/1 (Sabæan); cf. also *rbḥm*, a personal name in RÉS 3871/1 (Qatabanian) and *rbḥ*, a clan name in Jamme 347/1 (Qatabanian).

1. 2. *qtdm*. The Ḥāḍrami texts RÉS 2640, 2687, and 3869 are not sufficient to prove that *qtdm* means "to be in charge of the construction of a building"; in each of these inscriptions, the idea of "construction" comes from another word coupled with *qtdm*.¹ An unpublished Ḥāḍrami text from Ṣalālah, M 486, clearly gives the meaning of Ḥāḍrami *qdm* and *qtdm*. In ll. 2-4: *qtdm/hgrn*.../bn/rbbm/'d/šgrm "he directed the construction of the city... from bottom to top", and in l. 8: *qdm/gyš/hḍrmt* "he led the army of Ḥāḍramawt".

1. 3. 't'z/yłt. See my paper in *BASOR*, No. 120, p. 27; part of footnote 7 mentioning that this inscription is RÉS 3958, was omitted in editing.

Hamilton 9 (pp. 56-60).

ll. 2 and 9. According to Beeston, the first letter of the lady's name is probably *y*: "t would probably have left clearer traces of its lower circle than are actually present" (p. 57). But *s* or *z* would also be possible; for *šnt*, cf. Arabic *šn* "I, aor. o, *rester pensif*" (R. Dozy, l.c., p. 837 B).

1. 2. Instead of 'ḏ.[n/hqn], read '[b]ḏ'ḏ'ḏ'n'/'[h]qn'. The upper half of the vertical stroke of *l* is missing, but the upper left triangle is certain. I see the entire outline of the following *n* and also the lower half of the divider. The lower part of the last two letters, including the circle of *q*, is clear on the photograph. The second letter of 'ḏln may be 'b, ḏ, z, s, ṣ or ḡ; however, the South-Arabian material suggests the reading *b*, since the root *bḏl* is attested in Sabæan (e.g., CIH 609/5) and in Qatabanian (RÉS 3879/5); cf. also the proper names *bḏl* in RÉS 3095 (Sabæan) and *bḏyl* in RÉS 3902, No. 115 (Qatabanian). '[b]ḏln, a plural form like the verb [h]qnyw in spite of the fact that there are two subjects, may be translated "the [Ba]ḏilites".

ll. 4-5. *ḥmdm/kyḥmrhw* "in gratitude because He vouchsafed them" (p. 60). The double value of the conjunction *k* is pointed out by M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1943, pp. 167-8; the tense of the verb indicates which is to be chosen. *kyḥmrnhmw*, where the verb is subjunctive, introduces a petition and must be

¹ *mbny* in RÉS 2640/1; *hbn* in RÉS 2687/2 and *gm* in RÉS 3869/1. Cf. RÉS 3535/2 (Minæan) where *qtdm* means "to command".

translated "in order that He may vouch safe them"; cf. *kys'dnhmw* in CIH 313/5 "damit er sie beglücke".¹ In the present text, the petition precedes the thanksgiving because of its particular importance.

ll. 5-6. *r'y/ lhmw/ ṣdqn/ bn/ fth* "an oracular vision (which was) propitious to them, (betokening) a successful outcome from the lawsuit" (p. 60). The key of the sentence is the interpretation of *lhmw/ ṣdqn*. Beeston rightly considers *ṣdqn* as "a nunated infinitive" (p. 58)²; *l-/ ṣdqn* is a subordinate proposition expressing a wish,³ and *ṣdqn* the infinitive of the first form; cf. Ge'ez *ṣadeqa* "justus fuit, justificatus est"; here, with the meaning "to be justified".

l. 9. *lhtmrnhmw* has the same value as *l-/ ṣdqn* and indicates the object of the vow; the subject is the divinity and the personal pronoun in l. 10, as well as *hw* in l. 8, refers to *sfnt* (cf. Botterweck 6/2, 3, and 5).

Proposed translation:—

- 1 *Sa'adka*[rib and his wife]
- 2 *Safnat*, the [*Ba*]dilites, [*de*]di-
- 3 (ca)ted to 'Ilumquh *Tahwân*, master of 'A-
- 4 *wâm*, this statue in bronze, in prai-
- 5 se in order that He may vouchsafe them a sign [omen] so that
- 6 they may be justified in the lawsuit [which]
- 7 was between him and his lords,
- 8 and because the [his] wife *Safnat* made a vow
- 9 that He would grant her a child,
- 10 as He had promised her by His oracle.

Hamilton 10 (p. 60).—The lettering, in relief on a limestone fragment broken into two pieces, is Sabæan and almost identical with that of Jamme 419 (RÉS 4725: Museo Nazionale Romano 121105); for the photograph, cf. C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen nella storia e nella leggenda*, Rome, 1933, Fig. 89.

Hamilton 11 (pp. 60-2).—The marble fragment showing "two grooves" (p. 60) is probably the lower part of a plaque like Hamilton 12.—The first three lines of text are inscribed inside an inset and separated from each other by horizontal lines; the fourth is underlined by another horizontal line.—The isolated letter in l. 5,

¹ Cf. M. Höfner, l.c., p. 168.

² CIH 357/10-12 is not quite parallel to the present text.

³ Cf. M. Höfner, l.c., p. 184, § 139.

"an ill-executed *m*" (p. 60) is of much better shape than the two examples of *m* in ll. 2 and 3 and the lettering of ll. 8-10 is inferior to that of ll. 1-4. However, the writing of ll. 6-7 does not seem to be worse than that of ll. 1-4.—The reason why Martadum did not continue l. 5 is probably because he wanted to separate his own inscription from that of Ḥagar.—The repetition of ll. 6-7 in ll. 8-10 might be explained by the fact that Martadum found himself lacking space to finish his first text, as suggested by the smaller size and the location of *bn* in l. 6.—Martadum is "apparently the brother" (p. 60) of Ḥagar; this hypothesis requires interpreting *bn* in ll. 1, 6, and 9 as "son", but *bn* may here introduce a family name, in which case Martadum and Ḥagar would be relatives, but not necessarily brothers.—Even if ll. 8-10 is a duplicate of ll. 6-7, the latter text should be translated and not simply omitted.

Several of the above remarks suppose the identity of the two men named Martadum mentioned in ll. 6 and 8 as assumed by Beeston; nevertheless, this identity is questionable on account of differences in palæography, spelling, and content of the two texts.

1. As regards palæography, the form of /, *n*, and *r* must be disregarded for they are like those of ll. 1-4. The only similarity between ll. 6-7 and 8-10 is found in the two parallel lines which form the extremities of *m*, but it is certainly worth pointing out that in ll. 6-7 this peculiarity occurs in only the upper corner, but in only the lower corner of the first *m* in l. 8 and in both the lower and upper corners of the second *m* of the same line. Except for the preceding imperfect similarity, the rest of the lettering is different in the two texts.

In l. 8 the general lettering of the first *m* is very close to that of l. 2.

In l. 9, *b* with its two lower broken lines and without any second horizontal line, is unique in this text.—*s* also is unique with its two upper appendages.—*l* is entirely different from those in ll. 2, 3, 4, and 7. According to Beeston, "*g* is distinguished from it [i.e. *l*] only by the perceptibly larger size of the triangle" (p. 61); but (1) the triangle of *l* in l. 9, although smaller than that of *g* in l. 10, is undoubtedly larger than that of *g* in l. 1; (2) the base of the triangle of *l* in l. 9 is on top, on the contrary, that of both *g* in l. 1 and of *l* in ll. 2, 3, 4, 7, and 10 is on the left.—*m* is closer to that of l. 2.—*t* without any circle on its four extremities is entirely without parallel in the preceding lines.

In l. 10, *t* is identical with that in l. 9, except that the curved right

end of the latter is missing in the former.—*h* is identical with that of ll. 1 and 4, but in reverse position.—*g* is unique because of the base of its triangle in the form of a wide open circumflex accent.

2. The spelling of ll. 8-10 shows two peculiarities: the combination of two letters in a personal name into a monogram is quite unusual, and the beginning of l. 10, considered as a "failure resulting only in three wild strokes" (p. 61) must be read *t/*, *t* being dittography (which explains the word divider) of the same letter in l. 9.

3. With regards to the content of the text, both size and place of *bn* in l. 6 seem to indicate that the lower left corner of the fragment was already broken or at least damaged before engraving; moreover, *t* in l. 7 has almost entirely disappeared, thus suggesting that the corner was broken again after engraving.

No conclusion can, of course, be drawn from the content of the two texts, for we do not know whether the original content of ll. 6-7 contained *hg* or not, but both spelling and especially palæography suggest two different engravers for ll. 6-7 and 8-10. The preceding conclusion seems to indicate two different men named Marṭadum, for it would be rather difficult to explain why the same man asked somebody else to scratch his own second text. It does not seem unlikely that there were two different men belonging to the same family of Salmat and having the same personal name *mrtdm*.

The dialect of these inscriptions scratched on a slab found in Šabwat is Ḥaḍrami, as indicated by the personal pronoun *s* in l. 4; the Sabæan influence showed by the nunated imperfect is easily explained by the Sabæan conquest of Ḥaḍramawt, and besides that, intimate relations between Saba' and Ḥaḍramawt were already existing in the beginning of our era as indicated by the sanctuary 'Awwâm in Šibâm (cf. CIH 126¹ and the unpublished Sabæan text Jamme 615). In my opinion, it is unnecessary to "call the dialect of this text an 'Ausanian type'" (p. 61).² A perfect parallel to

¹ Cf. H. von Wissmann-M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Wiesbaden, 1953, p. 78.

² In footnote 1 of p. 61 Beeston now suggests that the Qatabanian text Jamme 348 could be another example of this so-called "Ausanian type". The year before, he suggested that this text "belongs to a period after the collapse of the independent qatabanian monarchy, when the Wādī Beihân had come under sabæan suzerainty" (*Le Muséon*, 66 [1953], p. 178). One archæological fact is much more important than any lexicographical consideration: namely, all the pieces found in Heid bin 'Aqil precede the final destruction of Timna'.

ll. 3-4 is the unpublished text Jamme 866 (from Šibām):
 ... *wlysm'n/sltkmw*.

Hamilton 12 (p. 62). Upper right corner of a marble slab with two ornaments. In the upper half, a rectangular area has been sunk into the stone, leaving four horizontal ridges, each having the section of an equilateral triangle; there are at least five of the same kind in Jamme 117 (RÉS 4109; cf. *Le Muséon*, lxxv [1952], p. 137); cf. also CIH 37 (CIH, t. i, pl. x). The second ornament is two vertical grooves in the lower half of the stone.—Three small inscriptions and a monogram are scratched on the slab.

(a) Above the first ornament:—

ḏ 'slm ḏ 'Aslam

Because of its size, it follows that *ḏ* is not part of a compound personal name, but the symbol of the god Dû-Samâwî in Sabæan inscriptions; cf. my paper *Le panthéon sud-arabe préislamique*, in *Le Muséon*, lx (1947), p. 146, and now also the unpublished inscription Jamme 859.—*'slm*, well-known personal name, e.g., RÉS 2773/6 (Minæan) and CIH 365/14 (Sabæan).

(b) To the left of the second ornament; text mentioned by Beeston (p. 62) as *qbbm*:—

qbḏm Qabḏum

Two different forms of the same letter in a proper name of only four letters seem improbable. The third letter is *ḏ* rather than *b*; *qbḏm* is a very well-known proper name. Beeston writes: "The reading *qbḏm* is the one which came first to my mind; but after a careful examination of the stone I could find no trace of a bottom line to the third letter . . . Of course, it may here have been omitted simply by the negligence of the writer." The letter *t* sometimes has no bottom line in inscriptions in relief; cf., e.g., CIH 660; such an alternative form seems more natural; cf. also the form of *ḏ* in text (d).

(c) Monogram just on top of *q* of text (b). Its small size compared with that of text (b) excludes any formal relation between (b) and (c).

rymt? Raymat?

The disposition of the marks allows us to distinguish four letters, *y*, *m*, *r*, and *t*. The two small strokes inside *m* are not required for that letter and they are too long to be considered as accidental prolongation of the two left-hand strokes of *m*; I suggest reading *t*. The long vertical stroke seems to have been scratched in order to support *r*. Among possibilities (e.g., *yrmt*, cf. the Sabæan personal

name *ym* in CIH 295/1) *rymt* seems more probable since it is a Sabæan clan name; cf. CIH 287/8.

(d) To the right of the second ornament :—

dmḏn? *Dû-Maḏḏân*?

I propose reading *dmḏn* and interpreting the other marks as accidental; cf. the beginning of Hamilton 11/8. *mḏn* is a Sabæan clan name; cf. CIH 102/4. *ḏ* has no central horizontal stroke.

Hamilton 13 (p. 62). Beeston recently sent me the following statement after a new photographic attempt (letter of 17th December, 1954): "Of Hamilton 13 it has proved impossible to obtain a photograph any more satisfactory than that reproduced in Pl. XIX of my article; the ink is too badly faded. Of its first line nothing whatever remains (not even a fragment of a letter) except a few random spots of ink, just sufficient to show that at one time there had been something written there; but nothing can now be conjectured as to what this was." The preceding statement seems to exclude the *m* mentioned on p. 62. An accurate tracing of l. 2 from the stone would complete the information on that Sabæan inscription.

Washington, January, 1955.

THE BIRD 'ANŪQ

(A LEXICOLOGICAL STUDY CONCERNING ARABIC ZOOLOGY)

By L. KOPF

IT HAS LONG been known that the ancient Arab philologists not infrequently misinterpreted difficult words and that, consequently, Arabic lexicons contain a number of unwarranted explanations. The principal reason for such errors was that rare words were often interpreted by mere guess, when the fault lay with the professional philologists. In other instances, certain words were misunderstood and wrongly applied before Arabic philology came into existence and the philologists had no choice but to assign them the meanings attributed by tradition or actually found in oral or literary usage, although when checked by literary evidence, the explanations were often wrong. Words of foreign origin in particular underwent that process on being accepted into the Arabic language¹ but doubtless, indigenous words, too, became so affected.

A case in point is very probably the bird-name 'anūq which, like some other terms (pp. 163-4), represents not only a lexicological problem but also a test case reflecting upon the reliability of the data in Arabic zoology, as far as they are derived from non-zoological literary sources. The various explanations of the word 'anūq and the different descriptions of the animal given in the larger dictionaries [*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 281, ll. 33 ff. : eagle ('uqāb), vulture (*rakhama*), a black bird furnished with something like a crest, or a black bird with a bald head and a long yellow beak ; 'anūq is both singular and plural and it means either the male or the female] lead us to assume that these ancient philological explanations are no better than conjectures. All agree that the 'anūq is a bird and this is actually supported by the frequent occurrence of the word in conjunction with *baid* (eggs), e.g. in the proverb 'a'azzu min *baidi* 'l-'anūqi (al-Maidāni, *Majma' al-Amthāl*, i, Cairo, 1352, p. 505 ; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 281, ll. 36-7) : "rarer than the eggs of the 'anūq." A comment on the proverb remarks that the eggs of the 'anūq can hardly be got at, because the bird nests on mountain tops and other places difficult

¹ See Th. Nöldeke, "Willkürlich und missverständlich gebrauchte Fremdwörter im Koran," in his *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, pp. 23 ff. One example (*ṣṭahl*) is also mentioned by Ahlwardt, *Der Dīwān des Rejzādichters Rūba ben Elagğāg*, Berlin, 1913, pp. xiv-xv.

of access (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, l.c.). And this statement finds confirmation in a verse of al-'Udail ibn al-Farkh, a contemporary of al-Ḥajjāj¹ (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 282, l. 4):—

Baiḍu 'l-'anūqī ka-sirriḥinna wa-man yurid //

baiḍa 'l-'anūqī fa-'innahū bi-ma'āqilī

“The eggs of the 'anūq are like the women's 'secret'; and he who wants //

the eggs of the 'anūq—they are on inaccessible mountains”.

A ḥadīth of 'Alī, also, partly confirms the above explanation of the proverb (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 281, l. 38): *Taraqqaitu 'ilā mirqātin yaqṣuru dūnahā 'l-'anūqu* “I have ascended to a height which (even) the 'anūq is unable to reach”.

The 'anūq is clearly represented as a bird in a verse of al-'Akḥṭal (al-Maidānī, l.c.):—

Mina 'l-jāriyāti 'l-kūri maṭlabu sirrihā //

ka-baiḍi 'l-'anūqī 'l-mustakinnati fī 'l-wakrī

“(She is) of the fair and black-eyed maids; to attain her 'secret' // is (difficult) as (getting) the eggs of the 'anūq which hides in the nest”.

A similar verse is anonymously quoted in al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, s.v. 'anūq:—

Wa-kuntu 'idhā 'stūdi'tu sirran katamtuhū //

ka-baiḍi 'anūqin lā yunāku lahā wakrū

“If I am entrusted with a secret, I conceal it,

Like the eggs of an 'anūq whose nest cannot be reached”.

Since the proverb is alluded to in the verses mentioned and perhaps also in the above ḥadīth, it can be assumed that it is older than these and that consequently the use of 'anūq in them depends on the proverb and the traditional explanations attaching to it.² A similar proverb, 'a'azzu mina 'l-'ablaqi 'l-'aḡuqi (for its meaning, see below, p. 160), is reported to have been coined in the time of al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir (about A.D. 600; see al-Maidānī, l.c.) and both proverbs

¹ See Ibn Qutaiba, *K. al-Shi'r wal-Shu'arā*, ed. de Goeje, p. 244.

² Ancient proverbs which were often incorporated into verses (see, e.g., A. Bloch, “Zur altarabischen Spruchdichtung,” in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen*, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht . . ., Wiesbaden, 1954, pp. 181 ff.), not infrequently puzzled philologists. Their concise language, obsolete words, and allusions to personalities and events no longer understood gave rise to many vague, contradicting, and even erroneous explanations; see, e.g., R. Blachère, *Arabica*, i (1954), pp. 53 ff.

are alluded to in a line of poetry seemingly attributed to Mu'āwiya,¹ the first 'Umayyad Caliph (*Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 281, l. 40):—

Talaba 'l-'ablaqa 'l-'aqūqa fa-lammā //

lam yanalkū 'arāda baiḍa 'l-'anūqī

“He sought the 'ablaq 'aqūq, and when //

he failed to get it, he desired the eggs of the 'anūq”.

As to the 'ablaq 'aqūq it is unanimously explained as a combination of one adjective denoting a male animal and another denoting a female one (al-Maidānī, l.c.; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 281–2), when the expression signifies not something very rare but something not existent.

Arabic proverbs combining two notions which exclude or contradict each other are not uncommon. Al-Maidānī (l.c.) mentions yet another: 'a'azzu minā 'l-ghurābi 'l-a'samī “rarer than the white-footed (an epithet 'a'sam generally applied to quadrupeds!) crow”, and expressly states that such a feature is not found in crows. He adds that some authorities attributed the same meaning to the proverb 'a'azzu minā 'l-kibrīti 'l-aḥmari “rarer than red sulphur”. The following passage from al-Tha'ālibī's *Thimār al-Qulūb* (Cairo, 1908, p. 355) will still further bear out our point: *Labanu 'l-tairi — yadribu bihi 'l-'ajamu mathalan limā lā yifidu 'l-'amalu bihi kamā yudrabu 'l-mathalu fī dhālika bil-'ablaqi 'l-'aqūqi wa-mukhkhī 'l-ba'ūdi wa-salā 'l-jamali wa-ḥilmi 'l-'usfuri* “The milk of birds—thus say the Persians proverbially for something vainly hoped for, just as one employs in the same proverbial sense the 'ablaq 'aqūq, the brain of a gnat, the placenta of a he-camel,² the forbearance of a sparrow”. Each of these expressions signifies, not something rare but something non-existent, at least according to popular opinion.

Actually some Arab authorities attributed such a figurative meaning to the eggs of the 'anūq too, pointing out that 'anūq is the male bird, and a male does not lay eggs (see *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 282, l. 2; al-Damīrī, s.v.). In view of the foregoing and parallel examples³

¹ From the *Tāj al-'Arūs* it is not clear whether Mu'āwiya composed the verse or only quoted it. The latter possibility is borne out by al-Damīrī, s.v. 'anūq, while al-Jāhīz (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, Cairo, 1938, pp. 522–3) evidently presumed that Mu'āwiya was actually the author.

² Cf. al-Jāhīz, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, Cairo, 1938, p. 522.

³ 'Anūq occurs in yet another proverbial saying which also contains the idea of the impossible (al-Maidānī, op. cit., p. 116): *Baitun fīhi 'l-ḥīṭānu wal-'anūqu* “a house in which there are sea-fish and 'anūq”.

such an explanation seems preferable. It also shows that the poet al-'Udail ibn al-Farkh, in the verse quoted above relied on a tradition with which not all authorities agreed. The structure of traditional interpretation being thus undermined, we may go a step further.

In two of the proverbial sayings mentioned—*labanu 'l-tairi*, 'a'azzu mina 'l-ghurābi 'l-'a'sami—we saw that properties of mammals are attributed to birds to denote in a lively fashion what is non-existent. We can now grasp the meaning of the already mentioned but still unexplained proverb 'a'azzu mina 'l-'ablaqi 'l-'aqūqi. Arab philologists only point out the contrast between male and female,¹ whereas, in view of the above parallels, 'ablaq would be better explained here as the male of a certain kind of bird (cf. *al-Munjid*, Beirut, 1937, p. 46) and 'aqūq as an unspecified pregnant female mammal.

If this pattern of interpretation is applied to the *baid al-'anūq*, the second word must denote an animal that does not lay eggs, evidently a mammal, and *baid al-'anūq* would then be the exact opposite of *laban al-tair* "milk of birds". One could then surmise that 'anūq in our proverb is a corrupt or uncommon form of 'anwuq, pl. of *nāqa* = female camel.² Being an obsolete form, it was not duly recognized by the Arab philologists and so omitted from dictionaries. In the *Munjid*, where it does occur (Beirut, 1937, p. 928), it seems to be a mere misprint for 'anwuq.

At any rate, neither of the traditional explanations of the proverb can be considered correct. The explanation that the eggs of the 'anūq are hardly accessible is refuted by a series of similar proverbs (beginning with 'a'azzu) and proverbial sayings which denote the non-existence of the things alluded to. Nor does it fit the verse attributed to Mu'āwiya (above, p. 159), where the second hemistich, if denoting only something difficult to obtain, would fail to bear out the meaning of the first. This difficulty was observed by al-Jāhiz (op. cit., v. iii, p. 523), who suggested remodelling the verse by putting *baida 'l-'anūqi* in the first hemistich. Such a change, however, would corrupt the metre. The second traditional explanation of the proverb, starting from the assertion that 'anūq is the male

¹ See above, p. 159, and al-Jāhiz, *K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, Cairo, 1938, p. 522. Both words are applied, among others, to the stallion and the mare, respectively.

² As a plural it is employed, e.g., in the proverbial saying quoted above, p. 159, n. 3. That it can be a plural was also admitted by Arab philologists; see above, p. 157.

bird, is contradicted by the construction of the word as a feminine in two lines of poetry.¹

One can easily imagine that 'anuq was understood to mean a bird only because of its connection with *baiḍ*. Since our proverb was conceived to imply the difficulty of reaching its eggs, the bird had to be one of the big birds of prey that nest in inaccessible heights, and it was with the vulture (*rakhama*) that the 'anuq was mostly identified.² Yet the real information on the 'anuq contained in old Arabic literature is very scarce. There occurs either the current expression *baiḍ al-'anuq*,³ or the 'anuq is depicted as a bird that flies to the greatest heights.⁴ The mention of both these features probably goes back to the proverb and its traditional interpretation.

Although the existence of the bird 'anuq is at least highly doubtful, it was dealt with in most Arabic zoological works and treatises. Ibn Qutaiba (*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, ii, Cairo, 1928, p. 73) and al-Damīri (s.v.) practically mention only what is also found in the larger dictionaries, but al-Jāḥiẓ has at least one interesting addition. In a line of *rajaz*-poetry quoted by him (op. cit., v. i, p. 235; v. iii, p. 503) 'anuq occurs in the dual form, which the poet immediately explains as meaning two kinds of beetle, the *qaranbā* and the *ju'al*. Al-Jāḥiẓ, to be sure, tries to derive this application from the traditional meaning of the word. He states that because of the vulture's (*rakhama* = 'anuq) well-known⁵ fondness for dung any other animal with the same predilection is also called 'anuq. This explanation is probably too far-reaching, but it can be accepted in so far as it suggests that the poet used the word in a metaphorical sense, if we consider its traditional interpretation. But if it can be assumed, on the ground of that verse, than 'anuq originally meant something like "beetle", we come to another interpretation of our proverb.

¹ See above. The adjective and the pronoun in the feminine form singular can, of course, refer to a plural (cf. previous note), but Arab philologists themselves, obviously on the ground of these and similar loc. prob., came to the conclusion that 'anuq was also feminine (see above, p. 158), while the opposite claim for the masculine gender probably goes back to the above-mentioned interpretation.

² Cf., e.g., *Tāj al-'Arūs*, vi, p. 282, ll. 5 ff., s.v. 'anuq, with al-Nuwairi, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, x, p. 208, s.v. *rakhama*.

³ In addition to the preceding examples see also the verse of al-Kumait in al-Nuwairi, l.c.

⁴ Cf. the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* (p. 158) and the two verses in al-Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., v. iii, p. 522, v. vi, p. 331.

⁵ *Min shahwati . . . li-dhālīka* in vol. i, p. 235, l. 11, has to be corrected into *min shuhrati . . . bi-dhālīka*; see Oriens, i, p. 371.

The *ju'al*, for example, was thought to be born by spontaneous generation¹ and therefore lays no eggs. So, according to the above assumption which, admittedly, is not very probable, *baid al-'anuq* again would signify something that does not exist.

Unfortunately, the sources at our disposal offer no clue for establishing the exact meaning of *'anuq*.

Clearly the explanations of *'anuq* given or transmitted by Arab philologists very probably go back to an old misunderstanding perpetuated by the wrong application of the word in some ancient literary documents. The authors of Arabic zoological works could not pass over in silence a creature frequently mentioned in their literary sources, but for the most part they are unable to give any information other than that derived from the traditional interpretation of an old proverb. This reflects on the reliability of the data contained in Arabic zoological literature. Since they depend largely on explanatory tradition and philological interpretation of ancient texts, no greater authority is to be attached to them, as far as indigenous literary sources are concerned, than to the often unreliable results of Arabic philological research.

It is beyond question that certain statements in Arabic zoological literature stem from a faulty understanding of difficult passages in old documents and even from corrupt texts which the philologists had failed to emend. Some pertinent remarks can be found in my translation of the natural history section of Ibn Qutaiba's *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, Paris-Leiden, 1949; see, e.g., p. 43, note 2, p. 60, note 3 (to be compared with Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 69).

Two other cases are very probably *nahār* (day) and *lawl* (night) to which also zoological significations were attributed. Al-Jāḥiẓ mentions only the first (op. cit., v. v, p. 449) and briefly states, without adducing any *shāhid* (illustrative proof), that it signifies the chick of the bustard (*ḥubārā*). Al-Damīrī, who assigned to both terms special articles in his zoological dictionary, is much more explicit. For *nahār* he first gives the same meaning of the word as al-Jāḥiẓ and quotes the proverb *aḥmaqu min nahārīn* "more stupid than a *nahār*". Then, quoting al-Baṭalyaūsī's commentary on the *Adab al-Kātib* of Ibn Qutaiba, he states that *nahār* was also otherwise explained. According to some authorities it is the chick of the sand-grouse (*qaṭā*), according to others the male of the owl, while

¹ Al-Damīrī, s.v. : It is mostly born from the dung of cattle.

the female is called *ṣaiḥ* (meaning : summer !). Others, again, maintained that it is the male of the bustard, the female being called *lail* (!). Then follows the verse :—

Wa-nahārīn ra'aitu muntaṣafa 'l-lai- //

li wa-lailīn ra'aitu waṣṭa 'l-nahārī

“ Many a *nahār* I saw in the middle of night, //
and many a *lail* I saw in the middle of day ”.¹

The same verse is also quoted s.v. *ḥubārā* where, however, *lail* is explained as the chick of the curlew (*karawān*). A similar verse is quoted by Ghulām Tha'lab in his *Mudākhalāt* (*Revue de l'Académie arabe*, Damas, ix, p. 451) :—

'Akaltu 'l-nahāra bi-nisfi 'l-nahārī //

wa-lailān 'akaltu bi-lailīn bahīmī

“ I ate the *nahār* in the middle of day, //
and a *lail* I ate on a dark night ”.

Here, too, *nahār* and *lail* are interpreted as meaning the chicks of the bustard and the curlew, respectively, and according to Ibn Barrī² it is just the above verse that was considered the *shāhid* for these meanings.

All the enumerated explanations of *nahār* and *lail* are repeated in the *Tāj al-'Arūs* (v. iii, p. 591, ll. 38 ff. ; v. viii, p. 109, ll. 21 ff.) and there it is stated that some understood the two words to be zoological terms also in the following verse of al-Farazdaq³ :—

Wa-'l-sha'ibu yanḥadu fī 'l-sawādi ka-'annahu //

lailun yaṣīḥu bi-jānibaihi nahārū

“ And the whiteness rises on the blackness (of the hair), //
which is like a *lail* at whose two sides a *nahār* cries ”.

Yet in this case all competent authorities agreed that the poet had employed the two words in their usual meanings and accordingly the verb *yaṣīḥu* (cries) was to be understood in a metaphorical sense.

It is astonishing that the *loci probantes* which Arab philologists were able to adduce for the zoological applications of *nahār* and *lail*, besides three little proverbs (see below), are all verses where both terms appear side by side and, in the first two cases, form part of puns. Evidently none of these constitutes a conclusive proof for any of the above explanations. Nor in the verse quoted by al-Damīrī do

¹ Wrongly rendered in Jayakar's translation, v. i, p. 506.

² See *Tāj al-'Arūs*, viii, p. 109, l. 25.

³ *Diwan*, Cairo, 1936, p. 467. The verse is not infrequently quoted ; e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāgha*, ii, Cairo, 1923, p. 485, s.v. *n ḥ ḍ*.

the suggested meanings of the two words make any satisfactory sense. Al-Farazdaq's verse offers a clue for a better interpretation of this pun-making *shāhid* :—

“Many a white hair have I seen amid black ones . . .” (the second hemistich either contains another, still unintelligible, pun or is simply a trivial permutation of the first).

This verse, then, appears to be a false witness. Al-Farazdaq's verse, too, is no proof for the zoological significations of the two terms, as was expressly stated by several authorities. As to the proverb which al-Damīrī adduces as a *shāhid* for *nahār* (see above, p. 162) its interpretation might have been prompted by another, similar one : *Aḥmaqu minā 'l-ḥubārā* (al-Jāḥiẓ, op. cit., v. i, pp. 196, 220 ; v. ii, p. 147) ; but it also easily lends itself to a different explanation. Quite a number of Arabic proverbial sayings of the same pattern (cf. al-Maidānī, op. cit., v. i, pp. 226 ff.) contain a reference to the stupidity of some person (e.g. *aḥmaqu min Habannaqa*) ; and *nahār*, too, was employed as a proper name.¹ In view of these circumstances no proof can be derived from the proverb *ajbanu min nahārin* “more cowardly than a *nahār*” (al-Maidānī, op. cit., v. i, p. 193), where the term was again explained as meaning the chick of the bustard.

The zoological meaning of *lail* is, moreover, very doubtful in view of the statement of Ibn Fāris in his dictionary *al-Muǧmal* that such a meaning of the word was unknown to him. Ibn Fāris is quoted by al-Damīrī (s.v. *lail*) in connection with the proverb *ajbanu min lailin* “more cowardly than a *lail*”, which is also mentioned by al-Maidānī (op. cit., v. i, p. 193) immediately after *ajbanu min karavānin* “more cowardly than a curlew”. It will be recalled that *lail* was explained by some as the chick of the curlew,

The foregoing considerations make one doubt the validity of any proof to be derived from the anonymous verse quoted by Ghulām Tha'lab (above, p. 163). Here the verb *'akaltu* “I ate” would point to animals, but the verse very much resembles the *shāhid* of al-Damīrī and it could well be only an imitation of the latter, dependent upon its traditional interpretation.

If, therefore, no better proofs can be found, the zoological interpretations of *nahār* and *lail* have to be ignored. This conclusion is all the more probable as Arab philologists were at a loss to define the meanings of the terms closely enough to exclude controversy.

¹ See al-Jauharī, *Šihāḥ*, s.v. ; *Tāj al-'Arūs*, iii, p. 592, l. 18.

AN INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY
OF ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY—THE “BULGHA”
OF MUHAMMAD ŠIDDĪQ ḤASAN KHAN̄

BAHĀDUR (1832–1890)¹

BY JOHN A. HAYWOOD

1. INTRODUCTION

WE ARE AT present witnessing a timely revival of interest in Arabic lexicography. The completion of Lane's Dictionary is planned by the International Congress of Orientalists. A small part of Noldecke's projected dictionary has been printed. J. Kraemer has drawn attention to Fischer's voluminous notes for a new dictionary of classical Arabic. All this fills a real need, but it contributes only incidentally to the study of Arabic lexicography. Indeed, the tendency is now to obtain material for dictionaries from Arabic literature direct, rather than from the old philological works. On the other hand, there are signs that the study of Arabic lexicography as an end in itself, rather than as a source of vocabulary, is gaining ground. There is the new Beirouth edition of the *Lisān al 'Arab*. Moreover, two theses on Arabic lexicography have recently been presented for higher degrees—that of L. Kopf² to Jerusalem, and that of A. Darwish³ (dealing especially with al *Khali*l ibn Aḥmad and the *Kitāb al 'Ain*) to London. Still, there is a pressing need for more work in this field, which presents fascinating problems. For example, whence did the Arabs derive their lexicographical technique? What influence had Greek and Sanskrit models? What does European lexicography—a comparatively late growth—owe to the Arabs. These questions are not yet answered and they are not likely to be answered so long as Semiticists and Indo-European philologists work in isolation. Moreover, lexicography is hardly taken seriously as a science even now and little has been written on European lexicography. The author of the article “Dictionary” in

¹ The author gratefully acknowledges help received from the Durham Colleges Research Fund and from Mr. J. O. Pearson, Librarian of the London School of Oriental and African Studies.

² L. Kopf, *The Word Definitions in the Indigenous Arabic Lexicons*, Jerusalem, 1953.

³ Mr. Darwish has had published in Cairo this year a general work on Arabic lexicography, *Al Ma'ājim al 'Arabiya*.

the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* makes no mention of the work of the Arabs. Writers on English literature hail Johnson's Dictionary—anticipated nearly a thousand years earlier, in Arabic, by al Khalīl ibn Aḥmad—as a great achievement.

It is this lack of material which prompts me to draw attention to the *Bulgha* of Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān Bahādur (1832-1890) and to summarize some of the material which it contains.

The *Bulgha* is one of the select band of works published in Istanbul last century. Its full title is *Al Bulgha fī 'Usūl al luḡha* (A sufficiency in the Elements of Philology) and it dates from 1879 (A.H. 1296). The author is described in flattering terms on the title page and is referred to as "King of the State of Bhopal". Further details of his life can be found in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. There is also a biographical sketch, together with a list of his works, as an introduction to another of his works, published in the same year in Istanbul—*Al ṭarīq al muthlā*. He was said to be descended from Ḥusain the son of 'Ali. From his youth he was noted for his knowledge of the Qurān and the Ḥadīth, on which he became recognized as the greatest authority in India. He married the Begum of Bhopal in 1870 and was associated in the government of the State. In spite of the cares of State, however, he still found time to write over 200 works—103 in Urdu (a language of which he was a fervent champion), forty-five in Persian, and seventy-four in Arabic. He was noted for the breadth of his knowledge; his works deal with many subjects and include one entitled *Abjad al 'ulūm*. He was also noted for his ease and speed of composition, being able to write in a day what would take other authors several days. Nevertheless, he was not quite so copious as the number of his works suggests, as many of them are fairly short essays of the *risqla* type.

The *Bulgha* is a remarkable work on two grounds. It is probably the best comprehensive guide to Arabic lexicography as viewed by the Arabs themselves; and it is probably the only alphabetical dictionary of Arabic philological and lexicographical works. It is planned in two parts with an Introduction and Postscript. The Introduction and First Part constitute an exposition of the Arabic language according to the theories of the old *luḡhawīyān*, summarized largely from Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*. The second part is a bibliography of dictionaries and other philological works—mostly Arabic, but including some in Persian, Urdu, and Turkish—arranged in alphabetical order of title. In this part the author seems to have drawn on the *Fihrist*, the

Kashf al Zunūn, and the introduction to the *Tāj al 'Arūs*. The "Postscript" is an essay on the *i'jāz* (superlative style) of the Qurān and it is followed by a short panegyric of the author by Sh. Ḥusain bn. Muḥsin al Yamani.

2. THE ARABS' SCIENCE OF PHILOLOGY AS DESCRIBED IN THE *Bulgha*

In a rhetorical preface in rhymed prose, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān praises Suyūṭī as the only author to get to the roots of the study of philology,¹ by modelling it on the science of the Ḥadīth. Suyūṭī divided the study of philology into fifty sections and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān follows this arrangement, except that Suyūṭī's first section becomes an Introduction. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān is thus a section ahead of his model, until section ten, where he allows Suyūṭī to "catch up with him" by artificially dividing one section into two. The *Muzhir* has been used by Lane, in the Introduction to his Lexicon, and the author of the *Tāj al 'Arūs* in his introduction, and there is a danger of its being accepted as typical of the approach of Arabic writers to philology. This is not so. Suyūṭī's merit lies in the fact that he gathered into one work all facets of the science, known to previous writers; but in so doing, he exaggerated the similarity with the science of the Ḥadīth.

The Introduction begins by stressing the importance of the study of the Arabic language, as a necessary adjunct to the study of the Qurān and the Ḥadīth. The first problem, however, is that of the origin of language. Is it God-given or man-made, *tauqīf* or *iṣṭilāḥ*? The tradition that God taught Adam the names of things suggests the former; but the statement in the Qurān that God only sent prophets in the languages of the people suggests the latter, as it presumes that language came before prophecy. Our author, after stating various shades of opinion, dismisses the problem as insoluble for want of proof. This leads to the next question. If Arabic is God's language, how did other tongues, such as the Syriac and Himyaritic arise? The confusion of tongues is attributed not to the Tower of Babel, but to the dispersal of Noah's children over the face of the earth.

The aim of the study of philology is to enable men to express their

¹ The word *luḡha* has several meanings. It may mean lexicography, philology, an expression, or current speech. I translate it here sometimes as "lexicography" sometimes as "philology"—partly for variety and partly because some of the Arabic works on *luḡha* are hardly lexicographical in the accepted English sense.

ideas to each other. There is not, however, a word for every meaning, as words are finite, while meanings are infinite. Thus, words cannot express every idea, but when placed together in constructions, they can express the relationship between different ideas. (Some authors believed that words had intrinsic (*dhātī*) and self-existent (*mūjab*) implications.) There are two methods of studying language—transmission, and deduction from what has been transmitted. There are a number of criteria which a word must satisfy before it can be accepted. It must come from a reliable Arabic source; its transmitters must be reliable, as in the *sharī'a*; the chain of authorities (*isnād*) must go back, uninterrupted, to a reliable expert living in the time prior to the decay of the language; each authority in the *isnād* must be transmitting what he has actually heard, not mere hearsay. The task of the philologist or lexicographer is to pass on the pure speech of the old Arabs—nothing more. It is for the grammarian (*naḥwī*) to deal with the material obtained by the philologist and draw analogies from it.

Naturally the Arabs gloried in the copiousness of their language. They were proud of its large number of synonyms. Not satisfied with this, they even noted neglected roots, Ibn Duraid including them in his dictionary with the comment "*mukmal*". To Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān the mathematical side of this is interesting and he works out the number of possible permutation of radicals in bi-, tri-, quadri-, and quinqui-literal roots. His conclusion is that there are 6,699,400 possible roots, of which only 5,620 are in use. This is a remarkable statement at first sight, but it is understandable when we realize that of over six million quinqui-literal roots only forty-two are in use.

Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān begins the First Part proper of his work with a chapter entitled "*Anwā' al lughā*" (Types or aspects of philological study). He then goes on to abridge the *Muzhir*, chiefly by ruthlessly pruning the examples. His model is thus reduced by five-sixths. The method used is summary by selection, Suyūṭī being mostly copied word for word. Still, Suyūṭī's work is itself largely word for word quotation of previous authors. I propose now to summarize still further some of this material, as it is not always realized how well developed and detailed was the Arabs' study of their own language. Our only regret is that they did not turn some of their attention to the other languages with which they came into contact, thus advancing the study of comparative linguistics.

Though we see the influence of Greek ideas in their philological work, we see no signs of the slightest interest in the Greek language.

The Arabs realized very early the danger of incorrect words creeping into the written language—even into the very works of the philologists. A word might be unreliable for a variety of reasons ; it might have a faulty *isnād*, or it might be due to a doubtful hearing or mistaken reading. This brings us face to face with the main problem. The earliest major philological work extant is the *Kitāb al 'Ain*, attributed to al Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, who died in about A.H. 170 (A.D. 786). It is clear that even at that time, the so-called classical language (*faṣīḥ*) as we now know it was no longer spoken. The philologists were therefore dealing increasingly with a dead language. There must be some means of verifying words, because many of them had ceased to be used in everyday life. Hence the need for an *isnād*, as in the Hadīth. Words which were fully established were termed *mutawātir*. Naturally the language of the Qurān and much of that of the Hadīth belonged to this class. It included also many basic words which continued to be used in the spoken dialects, which were usually termed *ma'rūf* (familiar) in the dictionaries. There was next a large class of words called *āḥād*. These were vouched for by a limited number of *isnāds*. Such words were usually accepted, albeit with some caution, provided that there was no suspicion of carelessness or deliberate deception. The *mursal* or *munqatī'* comprised words whose *isnād* had one weak link, that is, one transmitter who was unknown or unreliable. The *'afrād*, classed by some with the *āḥād*, were words going back to only one of the recognized early authorities. These were accepted, provided that they were not contradicted by other authorities. Among the most famous of the early authorities were al Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, al Aṣma'ī, and Abū 'Ubayda.

Good Arabic was termed *faṣīḥ*, a word which cannot be adequately translated into English. It originally applied to milk free from froth and was applied metaphorically to language. Lane's translation of "chaste" has a Victorian ring ; on the other hand the term "pure" is hardly applicable to language, so we must fall back on the unsatisfactory term "classical". Tha'lab considered frequency of use a test of the classical and this certainly applied to that large body of basic words, already referred to, which had persisted in the colloquial. And even with obsolete literary words, the greater the number of *isnāds*, the more general was their acceptance. Thus a word going

back to both al Khalil and Abū 'Ubaida was preferred to one going back to al Khalil only. (It is noteworthy that the authors of the great dictionaries are usually content with one authority.) However, from the earliest times—even in the *Kitāb al 'Ain* itself—other criteria were devised to supplement the *isnād* system. It says much for al Khalil that he raised the science of philology above the dreary level of *isnād*. True, the conception of the *isnād*, with its insistence on hard facts backed by reliable evidence, was one of the Arabs' greatest achievements in the field of thought. But it bore the seeds of its own decay, since it was backward-looking, tended to dull original thought, and offered too easy a temptation to the dishonest. Khalil divided the letters of the Arabic alphabet into groups according to their place of pronunciation—gutturals, labials, dentals, and so on. It is tempting to think that he was influenced by the Sanskrit alphabet, writing as he did in Khurāsān, on the route to India. He states that it is rare to find, in Arabic, roots in which all the radicals belong to the same letter-group, especially in the case of the gutturals. He noted also that practically all quadriliteral roots had at least one labial or sibilant. Those roots were preferred in which the radical pronounced highest came first and the lowest last. According to Suyūṭī, three was the ideal number of radicals, then two, then four, then five. More than five was impossible.

Even with words accepted without reservation there were degrees of the classical. This meant that where there were several good words for a single meaning, there might be an order of preference. Thus for "wheat" *burr* was better than *qamḥ*, and the latter was preferred to *ḥinṭa*. The Prophet was automatically recognized as the most classical of Arabs, and the Quraish tribe the purest in speech. The Arab writers list many idiosyncracies of the other tribes, some of which are interesting because they still exist even outside Arabia. For example, "titila," which consists of vowelizing the first syllable of the imperfect of the simple verb with *kasra*, instead of *fatḥa*, is often met with in the Sudan.

Rare or irregular words were studied with relish and form quite an appreciable literature of their own. They were termed *shādhḍh*, the opposite of *muṭarrad*. The term was properly applied not only to words of an irregular pattern, but also to words of a regular pattern which were rarely used. There were also the three classes *ḥaushī*, *gharīb*, and *shāriḍ*, that is, words shunned by the ear and therefore rarely used. The general term for rare words was *nawādir* and dozens

of books were written about them. In some cases they may have been dialect words of the tribes of Arabia. A word might be *nādīra* in general, or it might be so only when used with a certain meaning.

The last class of words which might, in certain circumstances, be accepted, were termed *mafārīd*. These were words known to have been used by only one individual Arab. Ibn Jinnī (d. A.D. 1002) tells us that they could be admitted if no other classical word gave the same meaning; moreover, they might be accepted even where the majority were against them, provided that they were of regular measure and that the individual Arab concerned was reliable.

Several chapters in the *Bulgha* were devoted to the vexed question of foreign words used in Arabic,¹ especially in the Qurān. The problem was to reconcile the statement in the Qurān, *innanā ja'alnāhu qurānan 'arabiyyan*, with the occurrence of obviously Persian words. The most reasonable conclusion was that of Abū 'Ubaida, who said that though foreign words did occur, they had already become assimilated into the Arabic language and were therefore Arabic. Then there were two classes of words which might be termed "semi-Arabic". The *muwallad* represented words brought into the language owing to the intermarriage of Arabs with foreign women. A typical example is the word *jins* taken from the Greek *genos*. Then there was the *mu'arrab*, that is, foreign words adopted as Arabic roots and then treated exactly as if they were Arabic. The dictionaries might signalize such words by some formula such as *laisa min kalāmi 'ahli l bādīya* (not from the speech of the desert-dwellers). Yet, once the Arabs left the desert and became a world power, not even the most rabid purist could do without these words, especially in learned and scientific books, any more than we can do without Latin words in English. In contradistinction to these alien words, however, there were other words which, though definitely Arabic, had been given specialized religious meaning by the Prophet. They include such words as *ḥajj* and *ṣaum*, not to mention the term *Islām* itself. Such words were called *shar'ī* when used in their specialized meaning, as opposed to *lughawī*. Technical terms in other branches of learning were called *ṣinā'ī*. All such words really belong to the *majāz* or metaphorical, to which I shall refer later.

The chapter on the peculiar virtues (*Khaṣā'is*) of the Arabic

¹ See A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurān*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1938, for a full account of this subject.

language illustrates that combination of wisdom and *naïveté* which is at once so attractive and so maddening in Arabic thought. It also illustrates one of the weaknesses of Arabic thought—the necessity of “arguing in circles”, by starting with premises, imposed by religion, which must also form the conclusion of the argument. The progression, reduced to stark simplicity, is as follows: God has indicated that Arabic is the finest language; Arabic has the following good qualities; therefore Arabic is the finest language. This chapter in the *Bulgha* has a second interest: it offers one of the few occasions when Ṣiddiq Ḥasan *Khān* emerges from behind the mask of Suyūṭī and reveals himself as a nineteenth-century Indian. We are told that God paid Arabic the highest compliment by choosing it as the vehicle for his final and greatest revelation. And how could he have chosen otherwise, in view of its many virtues? The language is noted for its breadth of vocabulary, its innumerable synonyms, its aptitude for metaphor, its use of the euphonic permutation of letters, its elision of vowels and consonants, and the presence of the letters *hamza* and *dād*—especially the latter, hence the term *luḡhat al dād*. Our author repeats and accepts all this, but he demurs at the statement that the language of the Qurān is such that it cannot be effectively translated into any other language. The Qurān has been translated, he says, and its meaning effectively transferred, though perhaps the finer shades of its meaning and its eloquent style may have suffered slightly. But, after all, he adds, if we are measuring language quantitatively, what about the old Sanskrit, which may be said to be broader than Arabic, as it has a neuter gender. Though Arabic may be the finest language, it is followed closely by Persian and by Urdu—the modern Indian language of the soldiers of the Sultans of Delhi. Urdu arose, we are told, through the mingling of the Persians with Indians and others. It includes words from all the languages and has attained an established position. It is, moreover, pleasant to hear, easy to grasp, simple to use, enjoyable to speak. It is neither heavy—like Sanskrit and European languages, nor light and inconsiderable—like the speech of unlettered peoples. It possesses poetry and every kind of literature. This tribute by Ṣiddiq Ḥasan *Khān* to his native language is refreshing to read and by no means devoid of truth.

Language was divided into the *haqīqa*, or plain, and the *majāz*, or metaphorical. The latter plays a large part in Arabic and forms the subject of one special dictionary—the '*Asās al balāgha* of

al Zamakhsharī. The word *bait* (house) is a simple example, having the metaphorical meaning of a line in poetry. The *majāz* is not always easy to "spot", reason being no help. In the long run its presence is best established by consulting the *ahl al luḡha*. The fact that a noun has two meanings is no proof of the *majāz*; but if these two meanings are paralleled by two different plurals,¹ one is almost certainly metaphorical. On the other hand some words, known as *addād*, had two equal and opposite meanings. So widespread was this phenomenon that numerous books were written about it. Yet side by side with this use of the same word for different meanings there was the compensation of almost limitless *mutarādīfāt* or synonyms. Thus *baṣhar* and *insān* both mean "man" in the general sense. Some maintained that the so-called *mutarādīfāt* were really *mutabāyināt* or antonyms since, though they described the same thing, they indicated different qualities. Others thought that they had only become synonyms with the passage of time: or they might have become *mutakāfi'āt* or equivalents, like the ninety-nine names of God. The use of two synonyms where one word would do was an Arabic stylistic device, employed perhaps owing to the lack of adjectives, for stress, for clarity, for the metrical demands of poetry (or perhaps as plain verbiage). But synonyms should not be confused with the feature of *itbā'*, that is, the use of two words in which the second has no meaning but is merely a rhyme of the first. This device occurs in many languages—in Urdu, for instance—and we have many examples in English, such as "teeny weeny"; but with us they are associated with baby-talk.

There is no room here to mention all the minor features of philology mentioned in the *Bulgha*, but mention should be made of alternative spellings and errors. Many of these were due to incorrect copying, known as *taṣḥīf*. The diacritical points might be misread or carelessly copied, or one letter mistaken for another. Other cases were due to *lathagh*, that is, mispronunciation due to an impediment of speech such as lisping. In this way *rā* might become *ghain*, *dhāl* changed to *rāi*, and *qāf* to *kāf*. In some instances genuine dialectical variants might be involved, as in the words *ṣald* and *ṣalt*, both of which mean "hard".

No essay on Arabic lexicography would be complete without

¹ For example, when *bait* means a house, it should have the plural *buyāt*: when it means a line in poetry the plural should be *'abyāt*.

mention of *qiyās*, that is the study of analogy in word-pattern. Naturally a word was received with considerable reserve, however well it was vouched for by reliable authorities, if it was of an abnormal measure. Thus, the measure *fu'il* was typical of the passive perfect of the simple verb and it was considered inappropriate to nouns. The word *du'il* ("jackal") was therefore accepted as *shādhdh*, but was considered an isolated case not to be used as a precedent. Incidentally this word occurs in the name of Abūl Aswad al Du'īlī, the supposed originator of Arabic philology (thanks to the inspiration of the Khalīfa 'Alī).

The *Bulgha* next deals with Arabic Philological authors and begins by suggesting that the qualities they require are high purpose, integrity, and diligence in the examination of authorities. These are the same qualities required of the *faqīh*—for, after all, philology is part of religion; it is one of the *fara'id al kifāyāt* no less than prayer. The duty of the *luḡhawī* is to teach others and give rulings on what constitutes the classical language. In former times teaching was done orally but, with the passage of the years, the written word had to be relied on more and more. Unfortunately mistakes occur in copying, so that even the greatest lexicographers have perpetrated—and perpetuated—errors. Indeed, the first dictionary—the *Kitāb ak 'Ain*—was severely criticized for its errors.

This leads us naturally to Part Two of the *Bulgha*.

3. PART TWO OF THE *Bulgha*: A DICTIONARY OF ARABIC PHILOLOGICAL WORKS

The Bibliography of Arabic Philological and Lexicographical Works, which forms Part Two of the *Bulgha*, is a unique book. Though in a limited field, it is a worthy successor to the *Fihrist* and the *Kashf al Zunūn* and more conveniently arranged than either from the viewpoint of the present-day scholar. It is a pity, though, that it has no author index. Apart from the Persian, Turkish, and Urdu works listed—and they are a minority—over 300 separate works or commentaries are listed dealing with *luḡha*. It would appear that every extant dictionary is mentioned with the exception of al Zamakhsharī's *Asās al Balāgha*. The work is brought up to date by the inclusion of the *Tāj al 'Arūs*.

The number of works included may surprise some—yet it is by no means complete, since a number of manuscripts of philological works have come to light since the time of Šiddīq Ḥasan Khān.

It should be noted that only works on *luġha* are mentioned and this excludes many books on grammar (*naĥw*), analysis (*i'rāb*), and accidence (*ṣarf*). We look in vain for those indispensable masterpieces, the *Kitāb* of Sībawaih, and Ibn 'Aqīl's Commentary on the *'Alfiya* of Ibn Mālik. The *Kāmil* of al Mubarrad "scrapes in", presumably because its title mentions *luġha* as well as *naĥw* and *taṣrif*. The dividing line is rather artificial, as a good deal of useful philological information occurs in Sībawaih and other grammars. Ṣiddiq Ḥasan *Khān* mentions the title of each work, then the author. He often follows this with a quotation of the first sentence or two of the work in question, for further identification in case any manuscript lacks the title page and author. This completes most of the entries. But with the more important works—especially the dictionaries—he adds further information, describing the main features of the work and quoting critical opinions of it. He further lists commentaries and abridged versions. There are therefore long entries—often amounting to several pages—on such books as the *Kitāb al 'Ain*, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *Qāmūs*, and *Tāj al 'Arūs*. These long entries are very useful for reference, summarizing Arab views of these famous dictionaries. The articles on the *Ṣaḥāḥ* and the *Qāmūs* are particularly enlightening. It should be added, however, that Ṣiddiq Ḥasan *Khān* is content to repeat the comments of others rather than to think for himself.

A glance through the bibliography gives a good impression of the different types of works involved and well illustrates the pre-eminence of the Arabs in the field of lexicography. Their achievement in dictionary-writing alone is impressive. When thinking of really large-scale dictionaries we should remember that the dictionary of the French academy, started in 1639, was not finally finished until 1692¹: that of the Spanish Academy dates from 1726–1739, and it was considered the best work of its kind in Europe. Neither of these works was written by a single author. In the Middle Ages the Arabs produced several large dictionaries which challenge comparison with these. The *Lisān al 'Arab* was the work of one man, Ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr (d. 1323) and compares with the French and Spanish works mentioned, in size, scope, and completeness.

To deal with all the works mentioned in the bibliography, or even the more important of them, is beyond the scope of this short study, but a few comments on the information it contains may be of some

¹ The first French Dictionary is said to date from 1539.

interest. The first Arabic dictionary was, of course, the *Kitāb al 'Ain*, attributed to al Khalil ibn Aḥmad (d. c. A.H. 170, aged about 75). He is said to have written the work while on a visit to Khurāsān. He deliberately avoids both of the two accepted letter orders, but groups the letters according to their place of pronunciation, beginning with the gutturals, in a manner reminiscent of the Sanskrit alphabet. He arranges his roots according to their letter-content, including all the permutations of any given combination of radicals under one heading.¹ It has been generally suspected that the bulk of the book, as it now stands, was written by Khalil's pupil, al Laith ibn Naṣir ibn Ṣayyān al Khurāsānī. I will not enlarge on this, except to make one suggestion : as Khalil is often said merely to have completed the letter 'Ain, is it not possible that he set out to write a work showing all roots containing the characteristic letter 'Ain—a letter not usually pronounced in the Eastern Khalifate, as we know from Persian and Urdu ? Then Laith may have expanded it into a full dictionary, written the preface, and given his teacher the credit for the whole work. al Khalil was, indeed, a legendary figure² and the acknowledged father of Arabic lexicography ; but his work was never popular—no doubt owing to its difficult arrangement. Nevertheless, a number of later compilers followed his system, notably al Azhari (A.H. 282–370) in his *Tahdhīb*³ and Ibn Sida in his *Muḥkam*. But there were soon efforts to break away from his arrangement. In Arabic, as in Sanskrit at an earlier date, we note uncertainty as to the ideal order for dictionaries. The second great Arabic dictionary—the *Jamhara* of Ibn Duraid (d. A.H. 321)—uses the letter order as we now know it but otherwise arranges the roots largely according to al Khalil's plan. It is inferior to the 'Ain in one respect ; it concludes with a number of chapters on *nawādir*, so that it starts as a dictionary for reference and ends as a treatise on word forms.⁴

¹ Khalil's arrangement is further complicated by the fact that he deals with biliteral, trilateral, and quadri- and quinquiliteral roots in separate chapters. Roots containing weak letters as radicals are also treated separately.

² He is also credited with the discovery of the rules of Arabic poetical metres.

³ See K. V. Zetterstein, *Aus dem Tahdhīb al lughā al Azhari's*, Monde Oriental, vol. 14, 1920, 1–106.

⁴ See F. Krenkow, "The beginnings of Arabic Lexicography till the time of Jauhari, with special reference to the work of Ibn Duraid," *JRAS.*, Centenary Supplement, 1924, pp. 255–270.

By this time the study of language (*'ilm al luġha*) was properly established and drew forth a plethora of works. There was a tendency to glory in the discovery—not to say invention—of rare words. Numerous works on the *nawādir* were written. The School of Kūfa was encouraging the broadening of the classical vocabulary and a relaxation of grammatical rules. The growing science of the Ḥadīth tended to give the stamp of authenticity to many words not used in the Qurān and unknown to common speech. In addition, we may suspect that the emergence of the "scripta plena" led to the acceptance of alternative forms. It is said that al Jauhari (d. A.H. 393) wrote his dictionary (the *Ṣaḥāḥ*) to counteract this tendency. This view, repeated by Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, is one of the legends of Arabic lexicography, if it suggests a science corrupted from its pristine purity, then reformed and restored. Jauhari certainly intended to be critical in his choice of the words for inclusion in his dictionary and his work is comparatively short. But the first dictionary, the *'Ain*, is a large-scale work and has itself often been criticized for its errors. The fact is that all Arabic lexicographers suffer from a consciousness of the copiousness of the language and a leaning to quantity rather than quality. However that may be, Jauhari's efforts appear to have unhinged his mind. He died attempting to fly from the roof of his house, using the two halves of folding doors as wings. His dictionary resembles the *'Ain* in two ways; it was written in Khurāsān (of which Jauhari was a native) and its defects were later excused on the grounds that its author was unable to complete it. It broke fresh ground by initiating the use of the *Qāfīya*¹ arrangement, whereby roots were given in the order of their final radical, then the first radical, then the middle ones. The letters are in their normal order, as in the *Jamhara*. The *Qāfīya* order was used by most subsequent writers, including the author of the *Tāj al 'Arūs*.

Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān would have us believe that the *Ṣaḥāḥ* marks the end of a phase in Arabic lexicography—the end of any serious attempt to limit the accepted vocabulary. Subsequent dictionaries were swelled in two ways; by increasing the examples quoted illustrating the use of words and by extending the vocabulary admitted. Dialectical variants, foreign words (especially Persian), and misreading were included and more than one lexicographer

¹ I find it hard to believe that this arrangement was designed to help the poet in search of a rhyme.

criticizes his predecessors on the score of incompleteness. Quantity was confused with quality and paraded as one more proof of the peerless greatness of a dead language. The finest work, combining copiousness with wealth of illustration, was the *Lisān al 'Arab* of Ibn Manẓūr ibn Mukarram (d. A.D. 1323). It was a stupendous achievement for one man. The new Beirut edition may run to over 7,000 double-columned quarto pages. A large proportion of words included are vouched for by a reliable authority and some of the articles on the commoner roots are brilliant. Europe could show nothing to equal this until the seventeenth century and, while superlatives are dangerous, the *Lisān* may well claim to be the finest dictionary in any language up to the end of the Middle Ages.¹

After such a work, the much-vaunted *Qāmūs* of al Firūzābādī (d. A.H. 817) is a dismal anticlimax. The author suggests that it is an abridgment of a "monster" dictionary in sixty parts, the *Lāmi*'. The latter, if ever written, has not survived. The *Qāmūs* is best described as a tremendous alphabetical vocabulary; to call it a dictionary is an over-statement. Firūzābādī is quite uncritical in his choice of words and he has no room for illustrations. The *Qāmūs* became—and remains to this day—the vade-mecum of native teachers of Arabic in the Middle East and elsewhere. Give an Arab a strange word and he will look it up in the *Qāmūs*. If it is not there, it cannot be Arabic! Because of its lack of illustrations and exact definitions this work is comparatively short, so it was fairly easy to copy. It soon spread over the whole Islamic world and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan *Khān* estimated that there were 8,000 manuscript copies extant in his day. With the advent of printing in the Middle East its popularity increased. Even to-day a new copy can be bought in Cairo for about four pounds, and it is thus within the reach of a poor schoolmaster's pocket.

For the sake of completeness mention must be made of the *Tāj al 'Arūs* of Sayyid Murtada al Zubaidī (A.D. 1732-1791). This is the largest of several commentaries on the *Qāmūs* but it has won false fame through Lane's use of it for his *Lexicon*. The Arabs themselves rightly prefer the *Lisān*, on which the author of the *Tāj* drew largely—though ungratefully.

Impressive as is the Arabs' achievement in dictionary compilation the greater part of Ṣiddīq Ḥasan *Khān*'s bibliography is devoted to

¹ With the possible exception of Chinese work.

other types of philological writing. One important genre was the classified vocabulary—a form known in Sanskrit. Though the dictionary was useful to readers, the classified vocabulary was more useful to authors, writing in a language which was increasingly obsolete and in which the use of rare words was deemed a virtue. The finest and most complete work of this sort was the *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of the Spaniard, Ibn Sīda (d. A.H. 458). This work, as published at Bulaq, is in seventeen parts. It gives words under subject headings, beginning with human beings and their attributes. Authority is given meticulously for every word. A similar work, on a smaller scale, is the *Fiḥ al Luḡha* of al Tha‘ālabī (A.H. 350–429). There are also many specialized vocabularies, dealing with particular subjects or word forms. Others deal with *addād* and *nawādir*. Of another type is Ibn Hilāl al ‘Askarī’s *Mu‘jam baḡīyati l ashya’* (Dictionary of the remainders of things). Books dealing with word measures are legion and include Ibn Khālawaih’s *Kitāb Laṣa* and Quṭrub’s *Muthallath*.

The second part of the *Bulḡha* is followed by a chapter on the *i‘jāz* (unsurpassable style) of the Qurān. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān echoes the views of Muslims of all ages. To them the Qurān is like the best of all Arabic style, yet superior to all. Its superiority is difficult to describe but easy to perceive. It is not merely a matter of its literary style—which is a mixture of purity and sweetness—but also its exalted meaning. It cannot be grasped by foreigners and unbelievers. The Qurān is the root of all knowledge and all science. . . . So Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān thinks fit to end his exposition of the science of God’s language.

4. CONCLUSION. A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT OF THE *Bulḡha*

The *Bulḡha* was a brilliant and unique conception, of undoubted value to students of Arabic lexicography. But it can be justly criticized on the grounds that the execution falls short of the conception. The second part—the bibliography—is quite successful, but the first part is an abridgment of the *Muzhir* of Suyūṭī which is often clumsy. At times the pruning of the original is done with a combination of ruthlessness and carelessness, so that the argument is obscured. Still, on the whole it is understandable and readable. The fact that the wording of the original is retained should not be held against Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān; he was following a well-established tradition. The “digest” or abridgment was a common and

important form in Arabic literature. The author of the *Lisān al 'Arab* is said to have written 500 such works. These books were the textbooks of the Arabs and they were of great value in the larger sciences of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *luḡha*. In all these copiousness became a virtue and the multiplication of examples a sign of superiority. This detracts from the value of a book like the *Muzhir*, which few modern readers would care to read meticulously. Some chapters consist largely of colossal word lists which would be more in place in a vocabulary or dictionary. In abridging Suyūṭī's work Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān performed a useful service to students of Arabic. In the *Bulgha* we are able to follow Suyūṭī's argument without being burdened by his too numerous examples. Moreover, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān makes it quite clear that he is summarizing Suyūṭī, so he cannot be charged with dishonest plagiarism.

Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān does not claim to have read—or even seen—all the works mentioned in his bibliography. In fact, he usually mentions quite naïvely when he has seen a copy of a book. He does make one or two errors as, for example, in his statement that Ibn Khālawaiḥ's *Kitāb Laṣa* is in four fat volumes, whereas it is in fact one slender volume.

Any reader who approaches the *Bulgha* expecting to find a modern attitude to the subject will be disappointed. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān was a compiler—no more. He writes from the point of view of the medieval Arab and appears to know nothing of nineteenth-century developments in comparative philology. Yet the work is well worth reading and I know of no better introduction to Arabic lexicography.¹

¹ I have not yet read Mr. Darwish's recently published work mentioned in footnote 3, p. 165 above, nor Mr. Kopf's thesis mentioned in footnote 2. But the *Bulgha* covers the whole field of lexicography, not just the dictionaries, and has also the valuable bibliography; so no invidious comparison is implied. A useful bibliography of the major works is contained in J. Kraemer: "Studien zur altarabische Lexicographie nach Istanboul und Berliner Handschriften," *Oriens*, 6 (1953), 201-238.

NOTES ON THE DECLENSION OF FEMININE NOUNS IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By L. A. SCHWARZSCHILD

"THE TENDENCIES OF Apabhraṃśa in phonetics and grammar help to bridge the gap between typical Prakrit and the modern languages." A. Woolner¹ expressed this view in 1928 when comparatively few Apabhraṃśa texts had been published and the remarkable continuity of the Indo-Aryan languages was accepted as a fact. Since then their general pattern of development, which appeared with simple clarity to Woolner, has often been obscured by the wealth of linguistic material of the Middle Indo-Aryan period that has come to light.

There is known to be a number of cases where Apabhraṃśa, as revealed in the texts, does not provide a link between Prakrit and the modern languages. There have been two alternative views on how such inconsistencies are to be explained.

Any feature of modern Indo-Aryan, Apabhraṃśa or Prakrit, that could not be linked with the language immediately preceding it, is regarded by some as a survival from a much earlier phase of Indo-Aryan, i.e. Vedic, or even Indo-Iranian and Indo-European. For instance, the old pronoun of the third person, *ava-* is already moribund² in the Rīgveda, where it occurs only in the genitive-locative dual, *avos*; it does not occur in Sanskrit, Prakrit, or in Southern or Western Apabhraṃśa and yet it is regarded by some³ as the basis of the modern remote demonstrative pronoun: Braj *wo, wuh, wah*; Panjabi *oh, uh*, etc. This type of explanation dismisses the main literary languages, Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and Apabhraṃśa as artificial and seeks for the true continuity in the spoken language in as far as it is unattested by the written documents. Carried to extremes this view would make us believe in "a mysterious living language without written texts, as is usually claimed by philologists, without much documentary or philological evidence"⁴—a complaint sometimes made in the field of Romance philology.

¹ A. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, 2nd edition, Lahore, 1928, p. 6.

² S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 837.

³ J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, Paris, 1934, p. 198.

⁴ H. F. Muller, *A Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, Halle, 1929.

Some linguists, on the other hand, have laid stress on the connection between the spoken and the written languages throughout the history of Indo-Aryan. Incongruencies are therefore explained as independent creations: thus Baburam Saksena ¹ suggests that the pronoun *wo*, *wuh*, or *wah* of Eastern Hindi is not a survival of the Vedic *ava-*, but a new creation on the analogy of the proximate demonstrative pronoun *yah*. This type of explanation leads us to see a constant process of recreation in the development of the Indo-Aryan languages, rather than a continuous evolution.

I

Some of the inconsistencies between the consecutive phases of Indo-Aryan may be only apparent and this seems to be the case in the declension of feminines in Prakrit. The most striking feature of the declension of feminine nouns in Prakrit is extreme simplicity; the four oblique forms of Sanskrit have been virtually reduced to one.

| | | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. |
|-----------------------|-------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Feminine Instrumental | . . . | <i>mālayā</i> | <i>mālāya</i> | <i>mālāe</i> |
| „ Dative | . . . | <i>mālāyai</i> | „ | „ |
| „ Ablative, Genitive | . . . | <i>mālāyāḥ</i> | „ | „ |
| „ Locative | . . . | <i>mālāyām</i> | „ | „ |
| Masculine Dative | . . . | <i>devāya</i> | <i>devāya</i> | <i>devāe</i> |

The declension of feminines ending in *-ī* and *-ū* is parallel to the *-ā* declension.

There are, however, variants in some of the Prakrits, particularly in the inscriptions; e.g. Ardha-Māgadhi, Jain Māhārāṣṭrī, and Māhārāṣṭrī have an ablative *mālāo*, which is borrowed from the masculine ablative, and this is also found occasionally in the Śaurasenī of the dramas. Further, Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī have the variants *-āa* and *āi* in the instrumental, genitive, and locative and according to the grammarians also in the ablative.

Pischel ² explained the usual Prakrit oblique in *-e* from the dative in *-yai* which replaced the other terminations in the spoken language. In support of this theory he quoted the fact that the dative ending *-yai* is used for the genitive-ablative ending *-yāḥ* once in the Atharvaveda and frequently in the Brāhmaṇas. There is a similar

¹ Baburam Saksena, *The Evolution of Awahdī*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 180.

² R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 259.

substitution of the dative for the genitive-ablative in the younger Avesta, and one is therefore tempted to think that Prakrit usage continued an older pre-Sanskrit type of inflection as, for instance, in the instrumental plural masculine: Prakrit *devehim*, Sanskrit *deviḥ*, Vedic *devebhiḥ*. This theory has been generally accepted in works of Prakrit grammar. It leaves the ending of the instrumental unaccounted for, as there is no substitution of *-yai* for the instrumental in the Brâhmanas. It also does not explain the terminations of Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. Geiger,¹ in his discussion of the Pali oblique forms in *-āya*, supposes on the other hand that the ablative-genitive ending has replaced the instrumental, dative, and partially the locative ending in Pali. Instead of accepting these contradictory theories of substitution of cases it may be possible, as suggested by Professor Alsdorf,² to explain both the Pali and the Prakrit endings by regular phonetic changes, which were helped by a certain amount of syntactic liberty.

Prakrit Endings.—It seems probable that the instrumental forms in *-ayā* changed to *-āyā* under the influence of the remaining declensional forms of the feminine noun, both singular and plural, where the long vowel at the end of the base was characteristic. The bulk of the Aśokan inscriptions, with some exceptions in the north and north-west, have a final *-āyā* in the instrumental, e.g. *pūjāyā* (Girnâr). There are also some rare cases of such forms in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, quoted by Professor Edgerton,³ e.g. *bhāryāyā sārđham* (Mahāvastu, ii, 443, 8). The final long *-ā* tended to be shortened as it was preceded by an accented syllable and we therefore also find *-āya* in the Aśokan inscriptions, e.g. *isāya* (Dhauī and Jaugāda inscriptions). This instrumental in *-āya* has survived as the usual form in Pali, it occurs in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and in popular Jain Māhârâṣṭrī (e.g. in the Vasudevahiṇḍī). According to Pischel the final *-āya* can only develop to *-āa*,⁴ which is in fact found as a variant in Māhârâṣṭrī. In the Prakrits *ya* is sometimes replaced by *-i-* by samprasâraṇa and this accounts for the other Māhârâṣṭrī variant, *mālāi*.

¹ W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg, 1916.

² L. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahiṇḍī, a specimen of archaic Jain Māhârâṣṭrī," *BSOS.*, 1935.

³ F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*, New Haven, 1953, p. 64.

⁴ For a further possible contraction of the final to *-ā*, cf. A. Meillet, "Le datif védique *avirate*," *BSL.*, xxi.

The syllable *ya* may also change to *ye* or *e* in Prakrit. Examples for this are early: *ye* occurs instead of *yam* < Sanskrit *yad* even in inscriptions where the normal nominative singular neuter ends in *-am* (Mānsehra Edicts). The further change to *e* is seen in the Kālsī, Dhāuli, and Jaugāḍa and a number of other Aśokan inscriptions, in some cases even in the accusative singular, where the influence of the *-e* type of nominative is most unlikely. From the general evidence of the Aśokan and the later inscriptions¹ it appears that the change of *a* to *e*, when preceded by *y*, was only just beginning in the third century B.C. Pali always retains *ya*. It is probable that the sound-change *ya* > *ye* > *e* is one of the developments common to the north-west and to the east of India. It was adopted, on the whole, by the literary Prakrits in the case of the oblique endings of the feminine, but the language of the Midland tended to keep the old forms (Māhārāṣṭrī *-āa*, popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī *-āya*). This point of similarity between the north-west and the east of India is by no means isolated in Middle Indo-Aryan: a parallel case, for instance, is the use of the masculine nominative singular ending of Ardhamāgadhī and Māgadhī in the north-west and sometimes in Niya Prakrit.^{2, 3} On account of the sound-change *ya* > *ye* we therefore find *-ye* as the instrumental ending of feminine nouns already in the Aśokan inscriptions of the north and north-west and it recurs in a later period in inscriptions from other regions, e.g. the Mathura Jain inscription of the second century B.C., *bhayāye*. With the loss of the *-y-* of *-ye* there developed the ending that is usual in Prakrit, e.g. *mālāe*. This same sound-change of *ya* > *ye* > *e* accounts also for the dative singular of masculine nouns: Sanskrit *devāya*, Prakrit *devāe*. This explanation is supported by the existence of the variants in *-āa* found in Māhārāṣṭrī and also in verses in Māgadhī and *-āya* in Ardhamāgadhī verses and in popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

The dative was extremely rare in Middle Indo-Aryan and was therefore open to the influence of other more frequent oblique cases. This, as shown by Geiger, helps to explain the Pali form. The ending

¹ M. A. Mehendale, *Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits*, Poona, 1948.

² T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937.

³ Sir G. A. Grierson explains similarities between the modern languages of the East and West by his theory of Inner and Outer languages, cf. his work "On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", *Indian Antiquary*, supplement, 1931. The reason for the similarity in this case lies, however, more probably in the religious contacts between the two regions.

-yai could only give -ye in Pali and ye, -e in Prakrit. -ye is the rule in the Aśokan inscriptions (except for *vaḍhiya* in the Shahbazgarhi Edicts). As the final -āya of the other oblique cases became -āye, -āe by phonetic changes, these cases tended to be confused with the dative and one therefore finds -āya used for the dative in Prakrit : e.g. the Nānāghāt inscription of Western India has Nāyanikāya and the Bhāḥjā inscription has the datives *jayāyā*, *Bhādhayā*.

The ablative-genitive and the locative endings are, like the instrumental, derived from the corresponding Sanskrit endings by regular phonetic changes. The genitive and ablative forms in -āyāh lost the final visarga which rendered them identical with the -āyā, -ayā of the instrumental. -āyā is found occasionally in the Prakrit inscriptions, thus the Bharaut inscription of Central India has *Pudikāyā* (ablative) and *Nāgadevāyā* (genitive), and with the usual shortening of the final -ā we also find -āya. The ending then develops in exactly the same way as that of the instrumental and this accounts for the inscriptional -aye, the standard Prakrit -āe, and the Māhārāṣṭrī variant -āa.

By the rule of shortening of the final vowel after an accented syllable the ending -yām of the locative gave -yam, which is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka except in the north, north-west, and east ; thus the Gīrnār inscription has *gaṇanāyam*. This ending survives into later Prakrit inscriptions and into popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī as, for instance, in the Vasudevahiṇḍī. Final anusvāra is extremely weak and tends to disappear, as is the case, for instance, with the final nasal of the genitive plural ending in Māhārāṣṭrī. There is also a tendency for anusvāra to disappear with lengthening of the preceding vowel ; examples of this have been noted in popular works in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī,¹ in the Paumacariya of Vimalasūri and the Vasudevahiṇḍī. The loss of the nasal made the locative identical with the other oblique cases and its development was the same. It is thus evident that the confusion between the cases of the oblique of feminine nouns was due to phonetic causes : in the literary Prakrits there was no substitution of cases and in the inscriptions and in Pali and Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and popular Jain Māhārāṣṭrī such a substitution took place only in the dative.

¹ A. N. Upadhye, *Dhātātākhyāna, a critical study*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 19, Bombay, 1944, p. 51.

II

Phonetic change alone cannot account for the inconsistencies between Prakrit and Apabhramśa in the declension of feminine nouns. In Apabhramśa the ending *-e* is found only in the instrumental, generally with shortening of the preceding vowel (*mālae*), while the dative, genitive and ablative, and locative have a new ending *-he* (*mālahe*) and more rarely *-hi*, *-hiṃ*. It has been shown by Professor Alsdorf¹ and by Dr. H. C. Bhayani² that *-he* was the original ending of all the oblique cases of the feminine except the instrumental, and that the variants in *-hi*, *-hiṃ*, which occur occasionally, are a late and secondary feature in Apabhramśa.

There are a number of explanations for this ending *-he*.

A. (i) Pischel³ thought that *-he* came from *-syāh*, which is found in the genitive-ablative singular of the feminine of the pronominal declension in Sanskrit and which has survived in the Pali *tassā* < Skt. *tasyāh* and Prakrit *tissā* < **ūsyāh*.

(ii) Tagare⁴ follows Pischel, but assumes that *hi* and not *-he* is the correct ending in the locative and that this *-hi* may be based on the Prakrit *ahi*, Sanskrit *adhi*, usually a verbal prefix.

(iii) Professor S. Sen⁵ carries Pischel's explanation to the extreme, he adopts, on the whole, the explanation for *-he*, but for the variant in *-hiṃ* he quotes a prototype **-bhiṃ*, which is a hypothetical Indo-Aryan ending, parallel to the Greek *φι*.

B. Professor Alsdorf⁶ regards the ending *-he* as the result of a contamination between the Prakrit oblique in *-e*, which survives in the instrumental in Apabhramśa and the masculine genitive-ablative-dative ending *-ha*, *-ho* of Apabhramśa.

The main failing of Alsdorf's theory is that it leaves the locative unexplained. The Prakrit ending *-e* did not simply, wherever it occurred, become *-he* under the influence of the masculine ending *-ha*, *-ho*, as there is no evidence of an *-h-* in the instrumental: the confusion between the oblique cases found in the feminine in Prakrit was not continued by Apabhramśa. The *-h-* must therefore have been

¹ L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, Hamburg, 1936, Introduction, p. 164.

² H. C. Bhayani, *Paumacariu of Svayambhudeva*, Singhi Jain Series, No. 34, Bombay, 1953, pp. 64 ff.

³ R. Pischel, op. cit., p. 260.

⁴ G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa*, Poona, 1948, p. 157.

⁵ S. Sen, "Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan," *Indian Linguistics*, xi, 1949-1950, p. 59.

⁶ L. Alsdorf, *Apabhramśa-Studien*, Hamburg, 1937.

borrowed only in those cases where the masculine had an *-h-* ending. This excludes the locative, where the usual termination of the masculine in Apabhramśa ¹ was a simple *-e*. It is also significant that the oblique of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun in Apabhramśa is always *tāhe, tahe*, while the masculine is still usually *tasa, tāsū*, etc. It is therefore very probable that Pischel's method of derivation is correct here and that the pronominal declension provides the link between Sanskrit and Prakrit and Apabhramśa. The declensional systems of nouns and pronouns have constantly influenced each other and this is evident already from the pronouns in Prakrit.

Declension of the feminine of the demonstrative pronoun *sa* :—

| | Sanskrit. | Pali. | Prakrit. |
|----------------|---------------|--|--|
| Instrumental . | <i>tayā</i> | <i>tāya</i> | M. <i>tīe, tīa</i> , AMg <i>tīe, tāe</i> , Ś. <i>tāe</i> |
| Dative . . . | <i>tasyai</i> | <i>tassā</i> or <i>tissā</i> | |
| Ablative . . | <i>tasyāh</i> | <i>tāya</i> | „ AMg also <i>tāo</i> |
| Genitive . . | „ | <i>tassā</i> or <i>tissā</i> | M. <i>tissā, tīe, tīa</i> , AMg <i>tīse, tāe, tīe</i> , Ś. <i>tāe</i> |
| Locative . . | <i>tasyām</i> | <i>tassam</i> or <i>tāyam</i> , <i>tissam</i> | „ but also M.AMg and JM <i>tāhe</i> |

Here the link with the Apabhramśa declension is clear: the instrumental is the only case of the feminine noun in Apabhramśa that does not have an *-h-* ending; it is also the only case of the feminine pronoun in Prakrit and Sanskrit that does not take an *-s-* ending.

Of the Prakrit forms *tāe* represents the phonetic development of the instrumental *tayā* > *tāyā* > *tāya* > *tāye* > *tāe* and of the other oblique cases when they were influenced by nominal declension (e.g. ablative sg. **tāyāh* > Pali *tāya* and Prakrit *tāe*).

There was in Prakrit also a new stem of the pronoun *tī-*, which was based on the frequent final *-ī* of feminine nouns and, in particular, the suffix *kī*. This new stem seems to have been usual mainly in the Midland, it never penetrated into Śaurasenī and did not oust the original stem completely in the Eastern dialects. The instrumental of *tī-*, *tīya* gave *tīa* in Māhārāṣṭrī and with the change of *-ya* to *-ye, -e*, it gave *tīe*.

¹ The endings *-hi, -hiṃ*, are not usual in the masculine locative until late in the Apabhramśa period and they are based on the analogy of the pronominal declension.

In Māhārāṣṭrī this new stem has a genitive-ablative and locative *tissā* < **tīsyāh* and **tīsyām* (= *tasyāh* and *tasyām*). In the regions where *a* after *y* sometimes changed to *e* there was also a tendency for all the *-s-* endings to be confused and **tīsyai*, **tīsyāh*, and **tīsyām* gave *tīse* in Ardha-Māgadhī. This form is interesting as it shows the intermediate stage of the sound-change *sy* > *s* > *h* (as a parallel, cf. the rare form of the future *dāsāmo* in the *Ayāraṅgasutta*). The change of *s* < *sy* to *h* is found mainly in the Eastern and Central Middle Indo-Aryan and only occurs in terminational elements (e.g. *-sya* > *-ha* in the genitive singular of masculine nouns in Apabhraṃśa) and in words frequently used in an unstressed position such as numerals. The oblique *tīse* shows that this sound-change also tended to affect the feminine of pronouns. An even more advanced form of the sound-change is found in the Ardha-Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī "locative" *tāhe*, derived from **tāse*, which is parallel to *tīse*. One would expect such a form *tāhe*, if it penetrated into the literary language at all, to be used as a general oblique (except instrumental) like *tīse*; but this is not the case. *Tāhe* < **tāse* became completely confused with the derivative of the Sanskrit temporal adverb *tarhi* = "then". There is also a similar confusion between the relative pronoun and *yarhi* = "when". This is proved by the fact that the adverbs *tarhi* and *yarhi* always give *tāhe* and *jāhe* in Prakrit, with a final *e* and not *i*. On the other hand the pronoun was influenced sufficiently by the adverb to have adopted an exclusively locative sense instead of remaining a general oblique. The form *tāhe* as an adverb then influenced the parallel adverb *etarhi*, which therefore always appears as *ettāhe*, not *ettāhi*. *Tāhe* and *jāhe* are generally used more like adverbs than part of a pronoun in Prakrit and constructions of the following type are frequent: *jāhe* no samcāenti tesim solasanhaṃ royāyaṅkāṇaṃ egamavi uvāsamittae, *tāhe* santā tantā jāva padigayā = "when they were unable to suppress even one of those sixteen diseases, then they were quiet and subdued and . . . went home" (*Nāyadhammakahāṇa*, i, vii). In later Māhārāṣṭrī and Jain Māhārāṣṭrī texts *tāhe* continued to be used mainly as a temporal adverb and is recognized as such by the grammarians: cf. Vararuci, vi, 8, *āhe iā kāle* = "Instead of *i* in the sense of time, *-āhe* and *-iā* are optionally substituted in the above pronouns" (the other optional forms are *tahim* and *jahim*, which are based on the locative singular masculine). This same rule of Vararuci is repeated by later writers, cf. Hemacandra,

iii, 65. The more popular texts in Prakrit, such as the Paumacariya of Vimalasūri, the Dhūrtākhyāna and the Līlāvaīkahā all adhere to the standard practice of literary Prakrit in using *tāhe* as an adverb and the declension of the oblique of nouns and pronouns remains unaffected. There is therefore no evidence of a direct link between this adverbial form and the new ending *-he* of Apabhraṃśa.

The influence of adverbs on declension is widespread,¹ as can be seen from the ablatives in *o* of Prakrit based on *-tas*, found in *tatas itas*, etc. ; or the use of *tatra* = where, as the locative singular of the masculine pronoun in Niya Prakrit. It still remains unlikely, however, that a form as definitely temporal in meaning as *tāhe* should have influenced the whole of the feminine declension in Apabhraṃśa.

There is, however, an indirect link between the Prakrit *tāhe* and the Apabhraṃśa ending *-he*. The forms of the pronoun based on *tī-*, although so frequent in Māhārāṣṭrī have not been continued in either Digambara Apabhraṃśa or Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa, both of which use only the *tā*-stem, as had been the case in Śaurasenī. *Tīe* occurs as an instrumental in Apabhraṃśa, but only in comparatively few instances. The presence of *tīe* on rare occasions in Digambara Apabhraṃśa can be explained by the influence of the literary language of the Midland, and in Śvetāmbara Apabhraṃśa by the influence of the language of the Jain canon. The regular form of the instrumental in both Apabhraṃśa dialects is *tāe*. The demonstrative pronoun feminine, like the interrogative and the relative, was now treated as an *-ā* stem. The place of *tīse* is therefore occupied by *tāhe* < **tāse* and it is very probable that this form **tāse* had an uninterrupted existence in the spoken language of those parts of the country where the stem in *-ī* had never been favoured (cf. Śaurasenī) ; that is particularly in the west and west-central region, the home of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Apabhraṃśa.

The regional distribution of the Prakrits and Apabhraṃśa is such that the two main literary forms of Apabhraṃśa cannot be said to have arisen directly from any particular form of literary Prakrit.

¹ There are also some obscure cases of influence of the adverbs on declension as, for instance, Apabhraṃśa *tuddha*, *tuddhra*, which is mentioned as the genitive singular of the 2nd person pronoun by Hemacandra and occurs in the Bhavisayat-takahā and the Paumasiricariu of Dhāhila, two texts that are very much akin in language. *Tuddra* may be based on the usual Apabhraṃśa genitive *tūha* under the influence of *tatra*, etc. (cf. *taḍru*, *yaḍru*, found in the grammarians (Ki., 5, 50) and the curious demonstratives *tram* and *drum* and the relative *dhruṃ* quoted by Hemacandra, iv, 360).

But as can be seen from the history of the feminine declension in Middle Indo-Aryan, the comparison of the documents in the known Prakrit dialects may reveal the conditions of the spoken language in the other regions and show the elements that later make up the grammatical system of Apabhraṃśa. The Prakrits therefore cannot be dismissed as being purely artificial.

NOTE ON RUSTUM JUNG

"Lally's" corps in the service of Basalat Jung, Nawab of Adoni, passed into the service of Haidar Ali when the East India Company made Basalat Jung give up his European troops. In 1775 the French adventurer, François de Raymond, became a Sub-Lieutenant in the corps of Chevalier de Lassé, who must be Lally under one of his family titles of de la Salle. This indicates that Lally had a corps in Haidar's service in and probably before 1775, when the King of France gave him the rank of major.

Lally does not mention that he was wounded at the battle of Pollilur (27th August, 1781) (as stated by Munro) nor that he commanded the right wing of Haidar's army (27th September, 1781) at Sholinghur.

I have a note that he died of wounds received at the severe action with Floyd's force at Satyā Mangalam, 14th September, 1790. I have not noted my authority, but the date, at least, is correct, as Lally died in that year and there is no mention of him afterwards.

Lally's Corps in Tipu's army still bore his name during the British successful action at Seringapatam in 1792. It had a red uniform, like the British soldiers', and was therefore mistaken by another portion of Tipu's army (Dirom, pp. 147 and 173). It was then commanded by Major Vigie, the Chevalier de Vigy (p. 140, *supra*).

P. R. C.

SKT. LUBH 'TO DISTURB'

By T. BURROW

HOMONYMY IN VERBAL roots in Sanskrit is a recognized phenomenon.¹ Well-known examples of this are found in such cases as the following: *āh*-¹ 'to remove', *āh*-² 'to consider'; *kṛt*-¹ 'to cut', *kṛt*-² 'to spin'; *gā*-¹ 'to go', *gā*-² 'to sing'; *ci*-¹ 'to gather', *ci*-² 'to observe'; *dhā*-¹ 'to place', *dhā*-² 'to suck'; *bhuj*-¹ 'to bend', *bhuj*-² 'to enjoy'; *vr*-¹ 'to cover', *vr*-² 'to choose'. In the case of *vas*- we find three homonymous roots (*vas*-¹ 'to shine', *vas*-² 'to clothe', *vas*-³ 'to dwell'), and in the case of *dā*- no less than four (*dā*-¹ 'to give', *dā*-² 'to divide', *dā*-³ 'to bind', *dā*-⁴ 'to clear'). In such cases the various meanings are so distinct from each other that the separation into two or more roots is done without any difficulty, and there is no doubt that we have here different roots, although they are identical in form. In practice, of course, the homonymy is considerably restricted by variation in inflection and derivation (*vāsati*, *vāste*, *ucchāti*, etc.).

Beside the roots where homonymy has always been recognized, there are cases where it was not at first recognized, with resulting difficulties for both etymology and interpretation. For instance, the dictionaries and grammars recognize only one root *pṛ*- 'to fill', whereas a survey of the material collected under this heading, combined with the comparison of related Indo-European words, shows that two quite different roots are here involved, (1) *pṛ*- 'to fill' (*pūrṇá*-: Lat. *plēnus*) and (2) *pṛ*- 'to give' (pp. *pūrtá*-: Gk. *poreîn*).² The establishing of a root *jar*- 'to move' in the Veda, distinct from *jar*- 'to sing' and *jar*- 'to grow old', contributes materially to Vedic interpretation.³ In the same way it has been possible to point out the existence of a Vedic root *iṣ*- 'to prosper', which is to be kept separate from *iṣ*- 'to wish' and *iṣ*- 'to send'.⁴

A question of the same sort arises in the case of the root *lubh*-

¹ For a comprehensive discussion of this subject see J. Gonda, *Zur Homonymie im Altindischen*, *Acta Orientalia*, 14 (1936), 161-202. Ancient Indian doctrine on this subject is summarized by K. Kunjunni Raja in *Adyar Library Bulletin*, 19 (1955), pp. 193-222.

² F. B. J. Kuiper, *Acta Orientalia*, 16 (1938), pp. 313 ff.

³ H. W. Bailey, *TPS.*, 1953, pp. 33 ff., and 1955, pp. 59 ff.

⁴ See *BSOAS.*, xvii (1955), pp. 326 ff.

The ordinary meaning of this root in classical Sanskrit is 'to desire, covet, be greedy for', and the corresponding noun *lobha-* is very frequent in the sense of 'greed, avarice'. But in addition to the familiar meaning the root is also given as meaning (MW) 'to be perplexed or disturbed, to become disordered, to go astray', and (caus.) 'to confound, bewilder, perplex, derange'. Furthermore an examination of the material shows that meanings of this latter sort are the only ones found in the pre-classical literature and 'to be desirous, greedy', which to the average Sanskritist is the normal meaning, is not there attested.

Our dictionaries treat the root *lubh-* as one, and in doing so they tacitly assume that of the two different sorts of meaning one has developed out of the other. The Petersburg dictionary puts the meaning 'be confused' first and in this way the meaning 'be desirous' would be regarded as a specialization of a more general meaning 'be (mentally) confused, upset, disturbed'. Semantically this is the only way in which the two meanings could be connected and the fact of the meaning 'desire' being secondary would be consistent with the fact that it turns up very much later than the other.

Nevertheless there are strong reasons for believing that this is not the correct solution. First and foremost it goes contrary to a perfectly satisfactory and old-established etymology. This is the connection that is universally held to exist between Sanskrit *lubh-* 'be desirous' and the following words in various related IE languages: Lat. *libet*, older *lubet* 'it pleases', *lubens*, *libens* 'willing', *lubido*, *libido* 'desire', Goth. *liufs* 'dear', OHG *liuben* 'to love', OS. *ljubǽ* 'dear', *ljubiti* 'to love'. This etymology shows a meaning 'desire' to be primary, since it is common to all the languages involved, which is in direct contradiction to the conclusion to which the Sanskrit evidence itself points. The contradiction can be resolved by positing two homonymous roots, one, *lubh-* 'to desire', belonging to the above family of words and another, *lubh-* 'to disturb', which belongs with another family of Indo-European words to be mentioned below.

The *Dhātupāṭha* supports the theory of two separate roots *lubh-*, since it quotes two such roots with separate meanings: in Class IV *lubh-* in the sense of 'desire' (*gārdhya-*), in Class VI *lubh-* in the sense of 'making confused' (*vimohana-*, glossed *ākulīkaraṇa*). The existence of a form in the sixth class, attested by the *Dhātupāṭha*,

is of interest, since, as noted above, it is a characteristic of homonymous roots that they tend, to a greater or lesser extent, to inflect differently. So here *lubbh-* 'to disturb' is given as making a present stem in the sixth class and in this way it is distinguished from *lubbh-* 'to desire' which makes no such form.

In sūtra 7.2.54 Pāṇini makes a special reference to *lubbh-* 'to disturb', where he ordains that only *seṭ-* forms are to be used in the gerund (*lubbhītvā*, *lobhītvā*) and in the past participle (*vilubhita-*). Here also a formal distinction is established, since *lubbh-* 'to desire' may also make a gerund *lubbhvā*, and its participle is *lubbha-*, never *lubbhita-*.

What is taught in the grammar does not entirely correspond to what is found in the pre-classical texts. A transitive stem *lubbhāti* is not there attested and the transitive sense is always expressed by the causative stem *lobhāyati*. It may be accidental that *lubbhāti* does not appear. On the other hand, although in *Āp. Śr. S.* 1.4.12 (*alubhīti yonir iti* 'the resting place is undisturbed') the form is in accordance with the rule of the grammarian, the *Ait. Br.* 3.3 uses a form *lubbha-* which contradicts it. Likewise Yāska (*Nirukta* 6.3) rendering Vedic *salalāka-* as *saṃlubbha-* 'confused' ignores the rule of Pāṇini.

As examples of the use of the participle *vilubhita-* the commentary on P. 7.2.34 cites *vilubhītāḥ keśāḥ* 'dishevelled hair', *vilubhītāḥ śīmantāḥ* 'deranged parting of the hair', and *vilubhītāni padāni* 'effaced footsteps'. These examples illustrate the fact that *lubbh-* does not refer mainly to mental confusion and disorder, but most commonly and primarily to physical disarray, dislocation, etc. This is also characteristic of the Vedic contexts. It will be of advantage to cite these contexts in some detail, since by doing so it will become clear how widely separate in meaning this *lubbh-* is from the later classical *lubbh-* 'to desire'.

In the present tense we find in a number of passages a fourth-class stem *lubbhyati* which is conjugated in the parasmaipada and is intransitive in sense. Its use can be gathered from the following examples :—

AV. 3.10.11, *īdayā jūhvato varyām devān ghr̥tāvātū yaje ghr̥ān ālubhyato varyām sāṃ viśemōpa gómataḥ*. "Making oblation with *īdā*—I worship the gods with what is rich in ghee—may we settle down to rest in houses which do not collapse and are rich in ghee.' Whitney renders 'not disorderly' (with a question mark), but since in the majority of the examples collected *lubbh-* expresses physical

dislocation, disturbance, etc., a meaning of that kind is to be preferred here. It also gives a much more satisfactory sense.

Ait. Br. 2.37. Devaratho eṣa yad yajñas tasyaitāv antaraṁ rāsmī yad ājyapraūge. tad yad ājyena pavamānam anuśamsati praūgenājyam, devarathasya tad antaraṁ rāsmī viharaty alobhāya tām anukṛtiṁ manuṣyarathasyaivāntaraṁ rāsmī viharanty alobhāya. nāśya devaratho lubhyati na manuṣyaratho ya evam veda. Keith translates: "The sacrifice is the chariot of the gods; the Ājya and the Praūga Ṣastras are its inner reins; in that with the Ājya he follows in recitation the Pavamāna, with the Praūga the Ājya (stotra), verily thus he separates the inner reins to prevent confusion; in imitation thereof they separate the inner reins of the chariot of men to prevent confusion. His chariot whether of the gods or men does not become confused who knows this." This translation is not quite satisfactory since it is the reins which are confused, but the subject used with the verb *lubh-* is not the reins but the chariot itself. Consequently we must take *lubh-* as referring not to the mixing up of the reins, but to what happens to the chariot as a result of that, namely its displacement from its proper course.

Corresponding to the intransitive present a perfect *lulobha* with intransitive sense occurs in *AV Paipp. 19.51.2*:—

*yan me vrataṁ vratapate lulobha
ahorātre samadhātām ma etat*

"Whatever vow of mine, O lord of vows, has been broken, that a day and a night have put together again." In this passage the meaning of *lubh-* is excellently illustrated by its being used in a sense opposite to that of *samadhātām*.

To express the corresponding transitive sense the causative form *lobhayati* is always used in the pre-classical literature: e.g. *Śat. Br. 4.1.1.18, prāñān na lobhayati* "he does not dislodge the vital airs". *Ap. Śr. S. 9.10.16, idaṁ viṣṇur vi cakrama iti vartma samūhed, padaṁ vā lobhayet*, "saying 'here Viṣṇu strode out', he should even out the track (left by a chariot or waggon), or he should obliterate the footstep (of human being, etc.)." A corresponding aorist *alūlubhat* is attested in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa.¹

The root *lubh-* 'to disturb' is used in conjunction with the prepositions *abhi*, *ava*, *ā*, *upa*, *pra*, *prati*, *vi*, and *sam*:—

¹ H. Oertel, *JB Roots and Verb Forms, Journal of Vedic Studies*, ii, 74.

abhi-lubh- : *Pañcav Br.* 7.7.11, *balvalākurvātā geyam abhilobhaya-teva vajram evābhi-lobhayati* "By him it is to be sung stammering, making it unsteady as it were, (by so doing) he makes the *vajra* itself unsteady". BR give the meaning here as 'anlocken', in contradiction with the commentator who paraphrases *hinasti*. The fact that stammering is mentioned here and that stammering interferes with the proper delivery of a chant, makes it fairly clear that *lubh-* 'to disturb' is the verb used here.

ava-lubh- : No verbal forms of this combination occur in Sanskrit, but the *Gṛhyasūtras* (e.g. *Āś. Gr. S.* 1.13.1) contain a term *garbhāna-valobhana-* to designate a ceremony to prevent abortion. In Pali there is a gerund *olubha* < **avalubhya* which occurs in the stock phrase *daṇḍam olubha* 'leaning on (lit. collapsing down on) a stick'. The form has always caused difficulty because the interpreters were not acquainted with the root *lubh-* under discussion, which is quite different from *lubh-* 'to desire'.

ā-lubh- : *Śat. Br.* 10.3.1.7, *tad ya evaitasya prāṇasya mahimā yad vīryam tad etat sahasram : etasyaivaitat prāṇasya vīryam, yad dhūsyā cinvata prāṇa ālubhyet tata evaiṣo 'gnir na cīyeta*. "Thus whatever power, whatever vigour there is in that breath that is this one thousand; and to that breath indeed this vigour belongs for were that breath of him who builds it to be dislodged, this fire-altar would not be built." The desiderative of the causative appears in *Ait. Br.* 1.24: *tābhīr eva naḥ sa na saṃgacchātai yo no etad atikrāmād ya ālulobhayiṣāt* "Of us let not him come together with these (bodies), who should transgress (this agreement), who should seek to disturb (break, infringe) it". Keith's translation, "who shall seek to cause trouble," is inexact; the precise significance of the verb here is illustrated by the phrase *vratam . . . lulobha* of *AV Paipp.* quoted above.

upa-lubh- : *Pārask. Gr. S.* 1.12, *ye me prajāṃ upalobhayanti grāme vasanta uta vāranye tebhyaḥ namo 'stu*. This is referred by B. R. to the root *lubh-* 'to desire', in contradiction to the commentator who renders *upalobhayanti* by *mohayanti*. This meaning 'disturb, upset' would appear to suit the context better and elsewhere in the ritual texts it is *lubh-* 'to disturb' which is represented and not *lubh-* 'to desire'.

pra-lubh- : This combination appears in the mantra *yan me mātā pralulubhe vicaranty apativratā* which appears in various *Gṛhya* texts (see *Vedic Concordance*; variants *pralulobha* and

pramamāda) and is cited in Manu 9.20. In this context the verb does not refer to desire, but to transgression against the moral code. The causative *pralobhayati* 'tempt, seduce' is very frequent, e.g. *MBh.* 3.111.16 *vilajjamāneva madābhibhūtā pralobhayāmāsa sutaṃ maharṣeḥ*. Likewise in Pali : *SN.* 703 *uccāvacaṃ niccharanti dāye aggisikhūpamā | nariyo muniṃ palobhenti tā su taṃ mā palobhayuṃ*. "Of various sorts women come forth in the forest resembling flames of fire, they (attempt to) seduce the Muni, let them not seduce him" ; in *AMg.* : *Uttar S.* 8.18. *no rakkhasūsu giṃjhejjā gaṇḍavacchāsu 'negacittāsu | jāo purisaṃ palobhittā khellanti jahā va dāsehiṃ*. "He should not be desirous of such ogresses with humps on their chests and of fickle mind, who having seduced a man play with him as with slaves." In this case there is a certain ambiguity and uncertainty, since both the causative of *lubh-* 'to disturb' and the causative of *lubh-* 'to desire' may be considered equally appropriate. As far as later Sanskrit is concerned there is no doubt that this form was felt to be connected with *lubh-* 'to desire', since *lubh-* 'to disturb' had gone out of common use. On the other hand it is very likely that to begin with the form was based on *lubh-* 'to disturb', which gives an excellent sense ('cause to fall from virtue') and which corresponds exactly to the intransitive *pralulubhe* quoted above.

prati-lubh- : The root appears once only in the *R̥gveda* in this combination.

10.103.12. *amīṣāṃ cittāṃ pratilobhāyanti*
gr̥hāṇāṅgāny apve pārehi

"Upsetting the mind of these, O Apvā (= panic, acc. to Geldner), seize their limbs and go forth."

vi-lubh- : Examples of this from the commentary on Pāṇini are given above. There are occasional examples in the classical literature, e.g. *Bhaṭṭ.* *Kāv.* 9.20, *vilubhitam vātaiḥ kesaram*, which of course illustrates the grammar. No pre-classical forms are quoted.

saṃ-lubh- : *Śat. Br.* 3.4.1.18, *aikṣavyaṃ vidhrtī : ned barhiś ca prastaraś ca saṃlubhyāta iti* "There are two *vidhrtis* (things that hold apart) lest the barhis and the prastara should become confused (mixed up together)"; *Lāṭy. Śr. S.*, *dakṣiṇaiḥ pāṇibhiḥ kuśān*¹ *saṃlobhayeyuḥ* "They should ruffle the *kuśa*-grass with their right hands".

¹ Corrected by Bloomfield (*AJPh.*, xii, 422) from *Bibl. Ind. Ed.* *kuśāḥ*. His translation 'smooth the *kuśa*-grass' is not in accordance with general meaning of *lubh-* as seen from the other passages.

Some of the Vedic variants are useful in illustrating the meaning of *lubh-* 'to disturb', since in certain passages it is found substituted for roots of allied meaning, namely *yup-* and *lup-* :—

(1) *yup-* : Corresponding to 10.165.5, *saṃyopāyānto duritāni vīśvā* 'obliterating all dangers', AV 6.28.1 reads *saṃlobhāyānto duritā padāni* 'obliterating all dangerous traces', and the meaning of the two verbs is fundamentally the same. In the same way the formula *ayupitā yoniḥ* 'the resting-place is undisturbed' (MS.) quoted in *Ap. Śr. S.* 1.4.11, is followed in 1.4.12 by the variant *alubhitā yoniḥ*. The same meaning is assigned to these two roots in the *Dhātupāṭha* (*vimohana-*), and apart from the variants their similarity of meaning is evidence by their being used in the same kind of context. The use of *lubh-* to mean 'breaking, infringing' a vow, promise, etc., is illustrated above (*AV Paipp. lulobha*, *Ait. Br. ālulobhayiṣāt*). The root *yup-* is used in exactly the same sense in RV. 7.18.15, *acittī yāt tāva dhārmā yuyopimā* "Inasmuch as through ignorance we have infringed thy ordinances".

(2) *lup-* : This variation is illustrated by comparing *Kāṭh. Gr. S.* 45.8, *padāni lobhayante naḍair vetasaśākhayā vā* with *Mān. Gr. S. nalair vetasaśākhayā vā padāni lopayante*. The mantra quoted is in the RV text (10.18.2) *mṛtyoḥ padām yopāyānto yād aīta*, and for this the two texts substitute respectively, *mṛtyoḥ padām lobhayānto yādāmo* (*Kāṭh. Gr. S.*) and *mṛtyoḥ padāni lopayānto yād etat*. The relation of the roots *lup-* and *lubh-* is also shown by the commentators who in some passages where the root *lubh-* 'to disturb' appears, gloss it by the root *lup-*. For instance, in explaining the term *garbhā-navalobhanam* in *Āś. Gr. S.* 1.13.1, the commentator remarks *yena karmaṇā nāvalupyate tat*. The similarity in meaning of the two roots also emerges from *Ait. Br.* 3.3 : *yam kāmāyeta vācainam vyardhayānūti, sārāsvatam asya lubdham śamsed. ṛcam vā pādām vātīyāt, tenaiva tal lubdham*. Keith translates : "If he desire of a man 'Let me deprive him of speech', he should recite (the triplet) to Sarasvatī in confusion. He should pass over a verse or line ; thereby it is confused." As in some other passages the translation 'confused' is not precise enough. The text explains in detail that the process referred to by the term *lubdha-* is the omission or elision of a part of the text ; i.e. *lubdha-* is here used in the same sense as later the participle *lupta-* would be used.

The fact that *lubh-* 'to disturb' and *lup-* are to a considerable extent synonymous, in conjunction with the homonymy of *lubh-*

'to disturb' and *lubh-* 'to desire', has led to the transference of the latter meaning in some cases to derivatives of the root *lup-*, notably the intensive formation *lolupa-*. This is used almost to the exclusion of the alternative *lolubha-*, which can only be quoted from late texts. In view of this natural semantic confusion it is probably unnecessary to posit a hypothetical **lolup*, which would be NSg. of a stem **lolubh-*.

The question of the similarity in meaning of the roots *yup-*, *lubh-*, and *lup-* was discussed in detail by Bloomfield in *AJPh.* 12.414 ff. In the same way Caland (*WZKM.* 8.369) drew attention to the identity of meaning of the roots *lubh-* and *lup-* in the ritual contexts quoted above. Curiously enough neither author touches on the further problem which inevitably rises at this point, namely the relation of *lubh-* in the sense of 'disturb' to *lubh-* in the sense of 'desire'. As pointed out above the possibility of deriving the second meaning from the first is excluded by the comparative evidence. Furthermore the etymology of *lubh-* in the meaning analysed above, especially in view of its close similarity with the meaning of *lup-*, becomes quickly evident. The two roots are related and contain an ultimate radical element *lu-*, to which are added the extensions (or 'root-determinatives') *-bh* and *-p* respectively. In the new edition of the Indo-European comparative dictionary (P. 690) we find that such variants are in fact entered as *leup-* and *leubh-*. But whereas Skt. *lup-* is duly recorded under the former heading, Skt. *lubh-* 'to disturb' is not recorded as it should be under this *leubh-*, because its existence as an independent root, different from *lubh-* 'to desire' was not recognized.

The comparative dictionary remarks with justification that *leup-* and *leubh-* are probably extensions of the simple root *2leu* (P. 681). Under this root Skt. *lū*, *lunāti* is given, and its meaning is such as to justify the theory that it is ultimately connected with the roots *lup-* and *lubh-*.

There are certain other forms which may reasonably be considered to be extensions of the same simple root. Skt. *luñc-* 'pluck, tear off, peel, etc.' is best explained in this way. An *s-* extension (*leus-*) is recorded by the comparative IE dictionary for Germanic and Slavonic. To this a considerable amount of material from Indo-Aryan can be added. The Dhatupāṭha gives a root *luṣ-* (*loṣati*) 'to steal, rob' and *lūṣ-* (*lūṣayati*) 'to injure, hurt; to steal'. As the Dhatupāṭha contains a good deal of questionable material, not much

reliance could be placed on this, were it not for the fact that a corresponding verb turns up in Ardhmāgadhī: *lūsei* ' (1) break, (2) steal ', cf. *lūsaga-* ' one who destroys a vow ', *lūsaṇayā* ' plucking, wiping ', *lūsiya-* ' destroyed '. With this belongs Mar. *lusnem* ' to draw, to plunder ' which Kulkarni derives from Skt. *luṣ-*¹

On the basis of the *s-* extension further extensions were made by the addition of *t* and *d* :

(1) **lus-t-* : In Sanskrit this extension appears in *loṣṭā* ' clod, sod '. This may be explained as a name denoting the sod as being something forcibly torn loose from the surrounding turf. This is supported by the fact that other words for sod, *leṣṭu-* (*liś-*), and *loga-* (*ruj-*) contain the same semantic idea. It is also supported by the fact that there is further evidence for an Old Indo-Aryan base *loṣt-* with this kind of meaning. The gaṇa on P. 1.4.61 lists a form *āloṣṭi* in a list in a group of words compounding with *kr-* (*āloṣṭi-karoti*). We are not informed as to the exact meaning of the expression, but the general meaning *himsā* is applied in the commentary to the group containing this, and that would include meanings suitable to a base *loṣt-* derived in this way. Later in Sanskrit there appears a root *luṭh-*, *loṭhayati* ' to plunder ' (the same sense appears in *lumpati*). This form is of Prakrit origin and the Prakrit form can be explained out of **loṣṭayati*, a verbal stem from the base which appears in the two formations above. This type of extended root is paralleled by the two cases *ceṣṭ-* ' to act ' and *veṣṭ-* ' to wind '. The causative of the latter, *veṣṭayati*, is an exact parallel in form to **loṣṭayati* > *loṭhayati*, and it is well known to be derived in the same way from a simpler form of root, namely *ve/vī* (*vyayati*). The related root form *luṇṭh-* (*luṇṭhati*) is best explained by analogy. There exist nasalized presents in the related roots *luñc-* (*luñcati*) and *lup-* (*lumpati*) and in the case of the latter this co-exists with transitive-causative *lopayati* and it seems that on this basis a present *luṇṭhati* was created beside *loṭhayati* < **loṣṭayati*.

(2) *leus-d-* : The Sanskrit root *luḍ-* corresponds very closely in meaning to *lubh-* ' disturb ', as is evident from the following examples: *loḍayati* ' set in motion, agitate, disturb ', *āloḍayati* ' stir up, mix, agitate ', *pariloḍayati* ' stir up, disturb ', *vilōḍayati* ' stir up, mingle, upset, disorder, confuse ', *saṃloḍayati* ' disarrange, disturb, throw into disorder or confusion ' ; (*l-forms*) *lolayati* ' agitate,

¹ Cf. also Deśi *luṭṭha-* ' fragments of brick ', < **luṣṭa-*.

confound, disturb', *lulita-* 'dishevelled (hair), hurt, injured, crushed, destroyed', *vilulita-* 'shaken, agitated, disordered, dishevelled'; (Pali) *luḷita-* 'disturbed, agitated, turbid', *āloleti* 'to confuse, mix, shake together, jumble'; *āloḷi* 'that which is stirred up, mud', in the compound *śītāloḷi* 'mud or loam from the furrow adhering to the plough' (cf. for the meaning Skt. *loṣṭā-* and for the form *āloṣṭi* above), *ālulati* 'be agitated', *vilulita-* 'agitated, shaken, disturbed', *viloleti* 'stir, agitate'.

The etymology of this verb is to be sought beginning from the earliest form which occurs, the causative *loḍayati* (*āloḍayati* ŚrGrS.). This represents original **loḍayati*, with the same development as in *piḍayati*, etc. The weak form of the root can only be explained by analogy, inasmuch as on the basis of the causative *loḍayati*, forms in *luḍ-* were created according to the usual pattern (*lobhayati*: *lubhita*, etc.). Otherwise the weak grade would have given *lūḍ-*, a form which is represented in Prakrit *lūḍaī*, *lūḍēi* 'plunders'.

The developments sketched above have a close parallel in the developments that took place in another root. The root *hims-* 'to injure' has a nasal which originally belonged properly to the present tense (*hinasti*, *himsanti*). Forms without nasal are formed with the guṇa grade in Ved. *heṣā-*, *heṣas-* and the Pali verbal form *viheṣeti*. On the basis of this root *heṣ-* two extensions were made by the addition of *t* and *d* respectively:—

(1) Extension -*t*: *heṭh-* 'to injure' (e.g. in the cpd. *viheṭhayati*), Pa. *viheṭheti*. The Sanskrit root is of Middle Indian origin. Pa. *viheṭheti* represents **viheṣṭayati*,¹ cf. *veṭheti* 'winds round' < *veṣṭayati*.

(2) Extension -*d*: *heḍ-/hel-* 'to be or make angry; *hēḍa-*, *hēḷa-* 'anger, offence', *hīḍ-* 'to be angry', (late) *hīlanā* 'injury'; Pa. *hīḷeti* 'to be vexed; to despise, contempt'; Pkt. *hīlāi* 'despise, insult'.

The parallelism between these two sets of roots is complete and the development assumed in each case is confirmed by the other.

¹ See Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 775.

NOTE ON MAHĀBHĀRATA II 28

BY WALTER GURNER

EDGERTON'S IDENTIFICATION of a reference to Rome in the Mahābhārata deserves fresh attention in view of Sir Mortimer Wheeler's discovery in 1945 of traces of an Indo-Roman trading station at Arakamedu, near Pondicherry, with its train of consequential archæological implications.¹ The passage in the Mahābhārata occurs as part of the "Digvijaya" of Sahadeva in the Sabhāparva (Mah. ii, 28/47-9, B.O.R.I. ed) :—

"By means of envoys he brought under control and made to pay tribute the one-footed people, the Kēvalas who live in the forest, the city of Sañjayanti—the Pāṇḍyas Draviḍas together with the Chodras and Keralas, the Andhras and Talavanas and Kaliṅgas. By means of envoys he made to pay tribute and brought under control Antioch and Rome and the city of the Yavanas,"

the key words being, in Edgerton's text,

*antākhīm ca romāṁca yavānānām puram tatha
dūtair eva vaśe cakre karaṁcainān adāpayat.*

The startling effect of this reading will be seen by comparison with the Vulgate :—

"atavīmca purīm ramyām yavānānam purīm tathā"

Calc, ii, 1175 = Bomb : 31/72.

antākhīm is purely a conjecture, but Edgerton is confident of his manuscript authority for *romām* as against the feeble V.L. *ramyām* and more interesting v.l. *rōmakān*. "This must now be recognized," he claims, "as the oldest occurrence in India of the name of Rome and the only occurrence in Sanscrit with its proper gender." The "city of the Yavanas" he takes to be Alexandria, following Kern's interpretation of the term in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā; and so he finds in one breath reference to the three great cities of the Western world—perhaps too good to be true! (Incidentally it does seem possible that *ca* and *tathā* could be construed together, thus making Rome the city of the Yavanas.)

¹ F. Edgerton, in *JAOS.*, vol. 58, June, 1938, p. 262, to be read with Mahābhārata, ii, 28/47-9 (B.O.R.I. edition, fasc. xiii), and Edgerton's editorial comments in fasc. xiv, pp. 502 and xxvii. The Arikamedu excavations are reported in *Ancient India*, No. 2, July, 1946; and Sir Mortimer Wheeler's *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1954), contains a useful summary both of the archæological position and relevant data from Greek and Roman works. See further, E. H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 1928.

It is not the purpose of this note to discuss Edgerton's manuscript criticism. Even if his readings of the key word were rejected (to say nothing of the long shot in Antioch) the city of the Yavanas remains. And its appearance in close association with conquests in Southern India becomes increasingly significant with the trend of archaeological discovery. For, in fact, what Roman traders (or traders under the ægis of Roman suzerainty) were doing there in the first century A.D. was precisely "paying tribute", the inevitable concomitant of import trade, whether in conciliatory gifts to authorities or in import dues. Even imports and specie for purchase would be "tribute" to the epic mind, just like the world's to Victorian England.¹

Again, from another point of view, "brought them under control and made them pay tribute merely by messengers" *dūtair eva vaśe cakre* recalls the succession of official missions from Southern India to Augustus and the early emperors. One must not put too much weight on a tag but the words represent the propaganda version as it would go down in local tradition of the return of the envoys with their complimentary gifts and the influx of wealth that followed. The laconic epic cliché is in this sense the counterpart, from the opposite point of view, to Augustus' record in the Monumentum Ancyrenæum of having had them at his court.

This undoubtedly is the light in which contacts with the Western world in the first century A.D. would present themselves to the poetic imagination in a context of aggression in Southern India. But on the other hand it will be noticed that the short passage begins with the legendary Ekapādas, who, even if they were not the *ᾠκυπόδες* of Megasthenes, as Schwannbeck² suggests, take us back abruptly from the Roman trader to the mythical savage. The collocation is difficult, even in the haze of epic tradition.

¹ S. K. Belvalkar on Mah., vi, 10/54, regards mention there of Romāṇas in the context of Northern India peoples as a mere accident of name, while describing the reference in this "Sabhā" passage as "evidently to a seafaring people and their capital".

² Actually with reference to this passage. See reprint against Fr. xxxiv in *Mull. Frg. His. Gr.*, 1878, vol. ii.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Far East

LES DOCUMENTS DE LA TROISIÈME EXPÉDITION DE SIR AUREL STEIN.

Edited by HENRI MASPERO. pp. 268, 40 plates. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum. London, 1953.

The material published in this volume was collected by Sir Aurel Stein during his third Central Asian expedition of 1913-15. It consists of 930 manuscripts, 219 on wood and 711 on paper, here itemized as 607 documents, translated and very fully commented by the great sinologist Henri Maspero, who died at Buchenwald in 1945. The documents found in Stein's first and second Asian expeditions were published by Chavannes in 1913 (*Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein dans les sables du Turkestan oriental*), while the explorer's own account of his discoveries appeared in *Serindia* (1921) and *Innermost Asia* (1928). Maspero's labours on this last consignment of documents, undertaken at Chavanne's request, were completed in 1936. This delay is a measure of the difficulty of the task and of Maspero's thoroughness. Inconclusive negotiations with the government of India before the war for a joint publication, and the disorganization of the British Museum after it, account for the further and less forgivable delay.

The documents come from the regions of Tun Huang (Han and T'ang); Lop Nor (third and fourth centuries A.D., from the Lou Lan site); Turfan (chiefly T'ang); and Khara-khoto (T'ang, Liao, and Yüan). They consist of the filed texts of official correspondence of local interest, scraps of private letters, notes and registers, fragments of classical and Buddhist texts torn from printed books or copied in manuscript. Like similar Central Asian documents previously studied (the earlier Stein finds and the finds of Sven Hedin's Sino-Swedish expedition, 1927-1935) great interest centres on questions of local administration, military defence in the Han period, and posting arrangements and the supply of relay horses under the T'ang. This last question is specially illuminated by the present documents. There is unique information, often rounded in its details, on military methods, the chain of command, supply and economy. More fitful light flickers on questions of law, taxation, superstition, and religious practices. Dr. Arthur Waley, Dr. Bruno Schindler, Dr. Willy Baruch, Mr. Henry McAleavy, and M. Jacques Garnet assisted in the preparation of Maspero's manuscript. The plates reproduce about one-half of the documents. The layout and printing are excellent. Only the absence of a character index is regrettable, particularly as the French system of transliteration is known only to the French.

In addition to translation and extensive commentary, Maspero has supplied each section of the documents with an introductory essay. The

fullest treatment is that given to a description of the system of defence posts and signals at Tun Huang, the western extremity of the Han limes, although the present documents really add little to what was previously known from similar material. The chain of command went from the *Tou wei* 都尉 in charge of a section of the frontier (there were three such sections in the Tun Huang commandery) to the *Chün hou* 軍候 in charge of a *hou kuan* 候官, thence to a *Hou chang* 候長 commanding a *kan hou* 庠候, and so to the smallest post, the *suei* 隧. This last term means "signal tower" and was synonymous with the *t'ing* 亭 or fort, the smallest element of the defence, which could be one of the wall-forts or an independent strong point. The subordination of command reflected in these documents is often confused by the temporary combination of headquarters, or the establishment of a higher command temporarily at an advanced position. The use of day and night signals is better illustrated in document no. 42 (c. first century A.D.) of the present collection than it has been hitherto. It originates from the *suei* of *chih chien* 止姦:—

'Quand en observant on voit des pirates au nombre d'un homme et plus pénétrer dans la Barrière, allumer une torche faite d'un fagot et élever deux signaux de fumée ou, si c'est la nuit, deux flammes. Quand on voit plus de dix hommes à l'extérieur de la Barrière allumer et élever comme pour un homme pénétrant (dans la Barrière).

'Quand en observant on voit des pirates au nombre de plus de cent hommes, s'ils attaquent le poste, allumer une torche faite d'un fagot et ? élever trois signaux de fumée ou, la nuit, trois flammes. Quand ils sont moins (de cent) et plus de vingt, allumer et élever exactement comme pour cent hommes. . . .

'Quand les pirates entourent le poste, allumer et élever : le four, élever l'appareil de signalisation placé au-dessus du poste, la nuit élever la lampe . . . ; les autres postes ensuite en réponse allumeront et élèveront comme (le poste primitif).'

The fire, flaming or smoky, was raised in a basket at the end of a balanced arm placed on top of the earth towers of regulated dimensions, probably synonymous with the *t'ing* themselves. The identification by Maspero, as given above, of the *kan hou* or "pole post" with the post commanded by a *Hou chang*, enables him to regard it as stationed between the *hou kuan* and the outer fringe of *suei*, whereas Chavannes placed it below the *suei* and Wang Kuo-wei identified it with it. Evidently *hou kuan* and *kan hou*, forming echelons of defence and communication between the frontier section headquarters (*pu* 部, under command of the *Tou wei*) and the outposts, *suei*, were as one might imagine a relatively fluid part of the organization, to be extended or compressed as circumstances required. One of the present documents (no. 53) mentions a 庠標 costing 120 (? cash), which Maspero identifies as a pole for the signals apparatus. This and other examples of sums of

money (especially the value of skins and carcasses of horses) are interesting indications of prices. Next to military affairs, the most valuable material for the historian in the present collection of documents is probably the legal instances and extracts from penal codes, especially numerous in connexion with the draconian administration of the studs supplying the relays.

WILLIAM WATSON.

MATERIAUX POUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT ÉLÉMENTAIRE DUE CHINOIS. Par PAUL DEMIÉVILLE. pp. ii + 175. Paris, 1953.

This book is based on a first year's course held when the author was Professor of Chinese at the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Tables of the Radicals (pp. 1-30) in various scripts are followed by Tables setting out as many as twelve different transcriptions covering various aspects (pp. 31-86). Graded texts in the spoken language *Gwoyeu* (pp. 1-23) and a glossary (pp. 1-16) form two further parts of this book, which apart from serving the special needs of the students of the Paris School will be welcomed by teachers and students of Chinese in other countries as an informative and accurate introduction to the elements of the Chinese script and of spoken Chinese.

W. SIMON.

THE SECOND CHINA WAR. By D. BONNER-SMITH and E. W. R. LUMBY. pp. 413. Navy Records Society, London, 1954. £2 5s.

The collection of official papers relating to the naval operations during the Second China War of 1856-1860 was made by the late D. Bonner-Smith, Admiralty Librarian, and has been posthumously edited and published by E. W. R. Lumby. The present volume reprints a large body of official documents, many of them extracted from the Foreign Office correspondence of the period and now printed for the first time. This new material is an important addition to that already available for a study not only of the war itself but of the relations between the Chinese and the foreigners during the nineteenth century. A very clear light is thrown not only on the attitude of mind among the British officials concerned which helped to make war inevitable, but on the individual characters of Parkes, Bowring, and Elgin.

The documents are entirely concerned with naval matters and thus do not present a continuous picture of events, though they give a clear account of the outbreak of hostilities which could hardly be bettered. The collection is confined to British papers and contains none of the relevant documents from the French, American, Russian, or Chinese sides. To round out the picture, the editor has written introductory remarks which are placed before each series of papers. These introduc-

tions give a succinct account of events and policies and admirably serve their avowed purpose of setting the papers in their historical context. There are also a number of very clear sketch-maps.

There is no acknowledgment of the sources of the individual documents. We are thus occasionally unable to decide whether a document comes from the Foreign Office correspondence or from the abbreviated text in the Parliamentary Papers.

D. TWITCHETT.

ZUM DSUNGARENKRIEG IM 18 JAHRHUNDERT. Berichte des Generals Funingga. By EVA S. KRAFT. Leipzig, 1953. pp. 191, map. (Das Mongolische Weltreich, Band IV.)

The intricacies of Chinese policy in Tibet and Central Asia in early Ch'ing times present the historian with a most involved problem. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Chinese influence in this area was challenged by the newly risen Dsungar power under Tsewang Araptan. The latter planned the conquest of Tibet, an ambition shared by the Chinese, and his basic strategy was to make a diversionary attack on the Chinese outposts from Sining to Hami while another force invaded Tibet and took Lhasa. In the event the attack on Tibet succeeded temporarily, but the encounter with the Chinese forces led to twenty years of warfare and the eventual inclusion in the Chinese dominions of both Tibet and Dsungaria.

One of the chief generals in these campaigns from their beginning in 1715 until 1726 was Funingga, who commanded the southern armies in Turkestan. The present book consists for the most part of a translation of 38 memorials submitted by Funingga during the period 1715-1724 while he was fighting Tsewang Araptan's forces. The texts present us with many details otherwise unknown, and provide important material for any future scholar working on Chinese relations with Tibet and Central Asia during the period. The original text is a Manchu manuscript in the collection of Professor Haenisch. Dr. Kraft gives a brief description of this manuscript in the introduction, as well as the whole text romanized. She is to be congratulated on the production of a readable translation from a style which appears to be a curious combination of Manchu with Chinese officialese. But the work would have been more useful to the historian had it contained more historical commentary on the documents themselves, and had supplementary documents been included from contemporary official sources. There is a clear summary of events taken partly from the manuscript and partly from elsewhere, but I feel that this might have been expanded with profit.

D. TWITCHETT.

TANUMA OKITSUGU, 1719-1788. FORERUNNER OF MODERN JAPAN. By JOHN WHITNEY HALL. Harvard University Press. London: Cumberlege. 1955. pp. xii + 208. Price 52s.

At a time when such monarchs as James II and Louis XV can find apologists, it is not surprising that an effort should be made to rehabilitate Tanuma Okitsugu, the virtual dictator of Tokugawa Japan from 1772 to 1786, whose nepotism and venality were so strongly criticized by the great majority of contemporary and later writers. Mr. Hall puts the case for the defence as adequately as it can be done, but although he corrects Murdoch's *History of Japan* on numerous points of minor detail, I cannot see that he has altered the general verdict. With all his industry and command of the original Japanese sources, he has been unable to clarify such obscure but important points as how exactly Tanuma achieved and maintained his ascendancy over the Shōgun Jeharu, or whether he realized Matsudaira Sadanobu's enmity towards him in the closing stages of his dictatorship. That Tanuma had exceptionally liberal views on foreign trade and intercourse, and that he cannot be held responsible for the numerous natural calamities which afflicted Japan in the period 1770-1790 has never been denied but Mr. Hall's defence of his financial and reclamation schemes is more original. The most valuable portion of the book is not the laboured and rather unconvincing defence of Tanuma's personal policies, but Mr. Hall's discussion of the major problems and inconsistencies within the Tokugawa feudal system and his carefully detailed description of the functioning of the Yedo bureaucracy. By an unfortunate misprint on p. 84, it is alleged that "the Dutch were cut to ten vessels and a 3,000 *kan* trade volume" in 1715, whereas in reality their ships were thenceforth limited to two a year. The book is well printed, bound and indexed, but 52s. is a staggering price to pay for a work of some 200 pages without any illustrations or maps, although Sino-Japanese characters of the names and titles mentioned in the text are given in the appendices.

C. R. BOXER.

THE VERITABLE RECORD OF THE T'ANG EMPEROR SHUN-TSUNG (28 February, 805-31 August, 805). Han Yü's SHUN-TSUNG SHIH-LU, tr. with introduction and notes, by BERNARD S. SOLOMON, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, XIII. Harvard University Press: Cumberlege, 1955; xxxi, 82 pp., with glossary.

Mr. Solomon gives us a translation of a work "notable not only as the earliest surviving work of its genre, but also as the only T'ang dynasty example extant". The survival of this work is due both to its historiographical interest and to its literary value. Had Mr. Solomon examined it in the light of either of these in his introduction, he would have done it

greater justice. A purely bibliographical study is quite inadequate, and the translation appears at times to be no more than an exercise. We are led to wonder if its publication was necessary.

On the text of the *Shih-lu*, Mr. Solomon shows that a long text and an abridged one survived till the middle of the eleventh century. He thinks that the present text is the abridged one, and equates it more or less with Han Yü's own revision of his original work. But Han Yü's memorial accompanying the revised text shows that the errors were rectified within a month. There is no reason why he should have abridged his original version.

Mr. Solomon then suggests that there were later "several stages" of revision, partly to eliminate embarrassing information about the political intrigues of the eunuchs and partly to make the work "more properly a court journal". But he fails to mention that the *Chiu T'ang Shu* Basic Annals (based mostly on the *Shih-lus*) contain matter pertaining to the court whose omission in the present text cannot be explained by either of his surmises—for example, diplomatic relations with Japan, Silla and P'o-hai, and the long proclamation about the enfeoffment of the emperor's sons. Could there have been an even later revision, or abridgement, made on the basis of literary interest, and begun, say, after the first standard history of T'ang was completed in the tenth century—that is, when the work had served its purpose as a primary document?

Mr. Solomon omits to translate palace, civil and military titles in the text and leaves them all to a glossary. This makes his translation difficult reading to all but the scholar of T'ang China. Nor does he give much guide to place-names, and on pp. 35 and 36 he surely misleads the reader into thinking that Ho Chou and Shu Chou were on the "coast of Huai-nan".

WANG GUNGWU.

ASSENTOS DO CONSELHO DO ESTADO. Vol. III (1644-1658). DOCUMENTOS COORDENADOS E ANOTADOS. By PANDURONGA S. S. PISSURLENCAR. Imprensa Nacional, Goa. pp. xxviii + 675.

This volume, though the bulkiest to date, has not quite the same interest as its predecessors since the surviving material is more patchy and there are surprising gaps and omissions. The editor has to some extent atoned for this by copious extracts from the "Books of the Monsoons" and other contemporary official sources on pp. 469-633. Among the matters which loom largest are the belated conclusion of the truce with the Dutch in 1644, the loss of Muscat to the Imām of Omān in 1649-50, the loss of the fortresses on the Kanara coast to the Naik of Ikkeri in 1652-4, embassies to and from the Ādil Shah of Bijāpur, the renewal of the war with the Dutch and the consequent loss of Ceylon.

C. R. BOXER.

SOME FEATURES OF THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE OIROT (GORNO-ALTAI) LANGUAGE. By C. G. SIMPSON. pp. 68. Issued by the Central Asiatic Research Centre in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group, 1955. 7s. 6d.

One of the most unfortunate misnomers which occurred in the course of the organization of Siberia after the First World War was to call by a purely Mongolian name, Oyrot, the Turkish-speaking peoples living in the Altai mountains. This mistake was corrected some years ago, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Simpson has revived it. The Altai language, together with one or two related dialects no longer recognized as separate entities by the Soviet authorities, forms the Southern-Western sub-group of the North-Eastern group of Turkish languages. For historical reasons which are still rather obscure it differs, particularly in vocabulary, from the north-eastern sub-group, now called Khakas (another misnomer) and still more widely from the south-eastern sub-group, now called Tuva. In the last thirty years all three languages have been "normalized" and provided with an extensive supplementary Russian vocabulary; and all retain, in varying degrees, considerable elements of Mongolian, derived from the period when they were under Mongolian domination. The Mongolian element in Altai is much less massive than that in Tuva, and almost entirely confined to the vocabulary, but even so it is important, and it is unfortunate that Mr. Simpson passes over in silence this major peculiarity of the language, as compared with most other Turkish languages, that it is so full of Russian and Mongolian elements. Mr. Simpson would also have greatly increased the value of his study if he had pointed out the historical reasons for some forms in the language which are, at first sight, extremely peculiar. For example, *tu:* "a mountain" has two Genitives *tu:duŋ* and *tu:nun*; the former goes back to the old Genitive *ta:ğmŋ*, the latter evolved at a time when the old guttural final had been forgotten. Similarly, the so-called "Participle of Possibility" ending in *-ğadıy* is merely the old Present Participle ending in *-ğan* with the suffix *deg* "like, resembling". But even if it requires some higher criticism to extract its full value, this little book contains a useful summary of the morphology and grammar of the Altai language which will be of great interest to students of Turkish philology, particularly as showing how differently the common (eighth century A.D.) ancestor of all the modern Turkish languages except Chuvash has evolved in the north-eastern group from the way in which it has evolved in other groups, and how archaic the language still is in some respects. Though reproduced in typescript it is admirably clear and easy to read, and I have noticed only one misprint, "form" for "from" in p. 59, l. 8.

INTRODUCTION TO MONGOLIAN COMPARATIVE STUDIES. By NICHOLAS POPPE. pp. 300. Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne No. 110. Helsinki, 1955. F.M. 1000.

Any reader of this book will be impressed by the enormous industry and effort which its compilation must have entailed. The author has drawn on his wide knowledge of contemporary, and some older, dialects of Mongolian to marshal a complete phonetic analysis of these dialects and a shorter, but still elaborate, analysis of the declensional and conjugational forms. The work is indeed a *magnum opus*, and it seems almost ungracious to point out one or two unfortunate omissions from it. In the first place, the author has completely omitted any description of one of the most important features in the language, the formation of Denominal and Deverbal Noun/Adjectives, of Denominal Verbs and of the derived forms (Passive, Causative, etc.) of the Verb. This subject is of great importance for the history of the language, particularly since some of these forms seem to be, *prima facie*, borrowed from Turkish, and it would be useful to know whether these particular forms go back to the earliest surviving, pre-Buddhist, stage of the language, or whether they entered it with the great mass of Turkish and other loan-words which were introduced when the Buddhist scriptures were translated into it. The book is, in fact, weakest in dealing with the earliest, and most interesting, stages of the language. For example, it omits any mention of the fact that the ᠮᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ alphabet and texts distinguish between closed *é* and open *e* and between short and long vowels. Even if *é* disappeared at an early stage, its original separate existence should have been mentioned. In the section dealing with long vowels (pp. 59 and foll.) the author says that in the modern dialects there are two kinds of long vowels, (1) those representing two short vowels separated by a weak consonant in the earlier stages of the language, and (2) those which seem to be arbitrary lengthenings of naturally short vowels; but the ᠮᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ evidence shows that there were apparently in the thirteenth century true long vowels as well as short ones, and a careful analysis of the evidence might show that some modern long vowels are actually survivals and not new formations. The discussion of some other phonetic points seems to be open to question. For example, it is pointed out (pp. 139 and foll.) that the Secret History and the ᠮᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤᠰᠤ texts distinguish between initial *k* and initial *g* with front vowels but that the Arabic script used in some other early authorities is incapable of distinguishing between the two sounds; it might be added that the Uyğur script which was borrowed to make the Mongolian official alphabet was equally incapable of so distinguishing and wrote both sounds with the same letter. Finally, Professor Poppe treats as an accepted fact the hypothesis that the Mongolian and Turkish languages had a common ancestor, "Proto-Altaic." The hypothesis is unproved and in fact regarded by most

Turecologists as improbable. So far as Turkish is concerned there is no reason to suppose that there was an initial *p*- now lost; the initial *h*- in a few words in the modern language of Chinese Turkestan, which is supposed to prove the original existence of an initial *p*- in Proto-Turkish, is undoubtedly a modern secondary sound not a survival; in all earlier stages of the language the words in question began with a vowel. There are certainly some odd phonetic phenomena in Mongolian; some words with initial vowels in every other dialect have an initial *h*- in the language of the thirteenth century, corresponding to *f*- before rounded vowels and *χ*- before other vowels in the Monguor dialect. But this does not prove that there was a primaeval initial *p*- in Mongolian. It can equally well be argued that the thirteenth century *h*- in Mongolian was a secondary phenomenon like the initial *h*- in the Turkish of Chinese Turkestan and that the evolution *h* > *f* before rounded vowels is merely another example of the process which produced *f*- from an earlier *h*- in Chinese; in other words, that the course of evolution in Mongolian was not *p*- > *φ*- > *h*- > zero—but, in a few words, zero- > *h*- > *φ*-. However, the fact that some of the statements made are open to dispute does not greatly affect the very real and solid merits of this book.

GERARD CLAUSEN.

Near and Middle East

LE PARLER ARABE DE TRIPOLI (LIBAN). Par Hassan EL-HAJJÉ, avec une Préface de J. CANTINEAU. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954. pp. 204, 2 maps.

This is a descriptive grammar of the dialect of Tripoli (Tarābulus al-Shām) with a few texts added by way of illustration. It is most creditable that Professor Cantineau should have induced a Tripoli student to work on his dialect, abandoning the well trodden paths in early Arabic literature for the vast unexplored and rewarding field of the vernacular language, nor can there be any doubt as to the competency of the author—as far as this book goes.

Yet the presentation and method of this study rouse certain persistent doubts. There is no real description of the method employed. In default of any description of the informants, in itself an important matter, one is left to assume that the author has set before us, by a species of introspection, the language that he himself speaks. Is this fairly then to be described as the dialect of the town of Tripoli? Assuming that M. El-Hajjé belongs to what we should term the middle class, is this book not rather, essentially, the spoken Arabic of the average educated citizen? There seems to be but a small proportion of the whole which differs much from what one has heard in conversation with Syro-Lebanese speakers, and in so far as verbal structure is con-

cerned most of it differs little from the usual run of dialectical variations from what we accept as classical Arabic. *Tarābulus* is divided into a number of quarters or wards—does their speech differ in any respect? I cannot find that the author has posed himself this very relevant question any more than he has asked himself about the varying dialectical content in the speech of different classes of society. Spoken Arabic may not, one feels, be studied on the narrow linguistic basis employed by M. Hajjé, and as a native of Tripoli he must surely be conscious of such variations if they exist, as they must. Dialect in its most characteristic forms is generally preserved in the speech of the craftsman and labourer, yet no texts of this genre are included, and apart from occasional examples of nominal forms, there is little indication that the author has delved into the richness of this side of Tripoli life. Where this book does become more human there are interesting and useful data, the section on the nouns, the list of *alqāb* (p. 34), some delightful quadrilaterals, e.g. *bartal*, *il a corrompu un fonctionnaire*, and its reflexive (pp. 80 and 93). An indication of vocabulary not already noted by Barthélemy (if any) would be useful.

Much space is devoted to the simple known elements of either classical or colloquial Arabic which need no new description. Where dialect is concerned the pressing need is not for descriptive grammars of this sort, which are comparatively easy to compile, and of which there is already quite an appreciable number. We need texts and yet more texts drawn directly from the living speech of the people, and these are not readily obtained without much application and industry. M. Hajjé would, of course, have somewhat limited opportunities to collect these in Paris.

As an exercise for teaching a technique for which a doctorate is to be awarded this is doubtless a useful study, but who is to *use* this book? It is not for the beginner to whom the lengthy description of sounds and the phonetic script would be a very material obstacle to assimilation of the principles of the spoken language. When the non-orientalist world already laughs at our transliteration *fā'il*, is it really necessary to write this as *fä'el*? On the other hand, to the *Arabisant* the decipherment of so much that is commonplace in an attempt to discover hidden pearls, or even merely to form a general conception of Tripolitanian dialect, is simply irritating. However, it is to be hoped that M. Hajjé will persist in his dialectical studies, for there is much to be done.

R. B. SERJEANT.

HISTORICAL METROLOGY. By A. E. BERRIMAN. pp. xvi + 224, frontispiece, and 65 illustrations. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1953. 16s. net.

The main purpose of this inquiry has been to trace the origin of

weights and measures by an analysis of metrological evidence covering the ancient world and ranging in time from the Old Kingdom of Egypt to the U.S.A.; it makes a special appeal to the mathematical mind interested in the properties of numbers. The Indian section describes what may be weights of the Indus Age, followed by comments on existing Indian units; the *retti* seed is better known as the *rati*. There is an interesting chapter with good illustrations on English weights and measures; the numismatist will find a condensed account of the coinage. A tremendous amount of information is compressed into this neat and attractive book.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

THE CODE OF MAIMONIDES. BOOK TEN: THE BOOK OF CLEANNESS.
Translated from the Hebrew by HERBERT DANBY. pp. xlv + 645.
Yale University Press, 1954. 60s.

The late Professor Danby, to whom scholarship is already greatly indebted for translating into English the first comprehensive code of Judaism, the Mishnah, has earned our further gratitude by translating the most abstruse book of the famous Code of Maimonides in the Yale Judaica Series. Just as his translation of the Mishnah was a pattern of lucidity and accuracy, so he succeeds in this work in rendering this unwieldy part of the Code in a language intelligible not only to Rabbinic scholars but also to the general reader. There can be no doubt, that like the Mishnah the present volume will become a standard work of reference. One can have nothing but praise for the translation, introduction, glossary, and index. Due, no doubt, to posthumous publication, there is no indication or acknowledgment that the majority of the reference notes on pp. 536-614, which give the Talmudic sources to the individual laws, are based on R. Joseph Caro's *Kesef Mishneh*.

P. R. WEIS.

THE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF MOUNT SINAI. By AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA.
pp. xxxiv + 97, 16 plates. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.
London: Cumberlege. 60s.

It is a pleasure to the present reviewer, who collaborated to a small extent in Professor Atiya's well-known work, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1939), to welcome his new book. Here he gives an admirably clear account of an important part of the work undertaken by the Mount Sinai Expedition of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, at the Monastery of St. Catherine between January and June, 1950, viz. the microfilming on the spot of 306 Arabic codices (out of 602) belonging to the Monastery, and 1,742 Arabic and Turkish

scrolls, containing decrees, firmans, fatwas, and other documents. (Many of the codices were unsuitable to photograph.) The earliest scrolls date from Fatimid times. Of the codices, which unlike the scrolls are, so to say, exclusively of Christian origin, the oldest go back to the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., e.g. No. 514, one of the two palimpsests. Professor Atiya's book is in principle a guide to this microfilmed material. The American expedition made microfilms of manuscripts in other languages, notably Greek. The net result of "indisputably the biggest project of its kind ever undertaken in history" (p. xxxii) has been that a set of microfilms of the Mount Sinai manuscripts in a dozen languages, amounting to over two million pages, was deposited in the Library of Congress, and a complete duplicate set has been handed over to the University of Alexandria.

Not only has the difficult technical task of handling and describing hundreds of manuscripts been performed with great competence by Professor Atiya, but also, as we should expect, the history of the Monastery and its treasures has been set out most attractively by him. Some reserve indeed seems called for in regard to his "Codex Arabicus", the above-mentioned palimpsest No. 514. At least, the description of the manuscript on p. xxvi is scarcely consonant with its characterization as a "quintuple palimpsest" (p. 19). Nor is it, I trust, captious to say that publication seems to have been long delayed. A commission of the Egyptian Ministry of Education, appointed to make a full inventory of the manuscripts of Mount Sinai actually after the American expedition had left, produced a two-volume Catalogue in Arabic, edited by Murad Kamil, in 1951.

There is confusion at the foot of p. xx, where some words have evidently fallen out, to the effect that Mrs. Lewis listed the Syriac manuscripts of Mount Sinai and Mrs. Gibson later published a list in Greek of the Arabic collection. "Pendectes" for "Pandectes" catches the eye on p. 10 (No. 387).

D. M. DUNLOP.

ARAMAIC DOCUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. Transcribed and edited with translation and notes by G. R. DRIVER, with help from a typescript by E. MITTWOCH, W. B. HENNING, H. J. POLOTSKY, and F. ROSENTHAL. pp. xi + 59 with 24 plates. Oxford, 1954. 84s.

This is an edition of the leather documents stored and preserved in a leather bag which was bought by Dr. L. Borchardt in Egypt in 1932, and acquired two years later by the Bodleian Library. They consist of thirteen more or less complete letters and several fragments which in the opinion of the editor are remnants of about seven further letters. They are written in "Reichs"-Aramaic and resemble some of the

Elephantine Papyri in script, idiom, and style. Another link between the two collections, which suggests that they belong to the same period, is the name of the Persian satrap of Egypt, Arsham, who is referred to several times in the Papyri and who is the author of ten of the Borchardt letters and mentioned in each of the others. None of the letters bears a date, but as a number of them were indisputably written by Arsham to Egypt from abroad, the editor concludes that these as well as the others which are of a similar style and tenor, date from the years 411/10-408 when Arsham is known from the Elephantine Papyri to have been absent from Egypt. The letters for the most part deal with matters relating to the administration of Arsham's Egyptian estates, and for this reason the editor rightly arranged them on the basis of the probable succession of Arsham's four stewards mentioned in them; however, DLI in the editor's reconstruction is hardly an invitation to Psamshek to present himself for an investiture, but rather a summons for a reprimand, and, therefore, its position in the arrangement of the letters seems questionable. Besides an "Historical Introduction" the editor provides the text with exhaustive lexicographical notes in which the various terms and proper names are traced back to their Sanskrit, Egyptian, and Semitic origins respectively. Perhaps some light may be shed on the difficult *lil'* in DLXIII by Exodus xxvi, 14. The neo-Babylonian, Aramaic, and Greek information on Arsham is given in an appendix. This is followed by a glossary which forms a kind of concordance to the whole collection, and by twenty-four plates, reproducing very clearly the letters and the fragments.

P. R. WEIS.

THE BABYLONIAN LAWS. By G. R. DRIVER and J. C. MILES, Kt.
Vol. II, Transliterated Text, Translation, Philological Notes,
Glossary. pp. vii + 426. The Clarendon Press, 1955.

With this volume is completed all that will now be published of a general work, *Ancient Codes and Laws of the Near East*, which the authors first took in hand twenty-five years ago. Hindered by the distractions of this troubled period, they have been obliged to stop at the Babylonian laws, and the present is the second and final volume devoted to these, the Legal Commentary having appeared three years ago. Like its predecessor, this volume is almost entirely taken up with the great Code of Hammu-rabi, but it contains also new translations and discussions of five minor texts, most important being the neglected Neo-Babylonian laws (pp. 324-347), a welcome addition but slightly foreshadowed in the preceding volume. This inclusion makes all the more noticeable a countervailing omission (from the text, if not wholly from the commentary) of the laws of Eshnunna, published in 1948,

which have since gathered a good deal of discussion, and are so clearly relevant; for it seems a little misleading to call them "Old-Accadian", if this term is to imply that they belong, either socially or linguistically, to some other sphere than the Hammu-rabi Code. Fortunately these laws have since been re-edited and re-translated by their first publisher (A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshminna*,—*Annals of The American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. xxxi, 1956).

The text of the various laws is established with great care from available sources; the translation is not only reached after careful weighing of its predecessors, but introduces many changes and improvements of detail. All is grounded upon a philological commentary (summarized in the Glossary) which occupies most of the book, and enters with great detail into exhaustive discussions, which few lines of the text escape. If this wealth of comment sometimes appears excessive one must pay attention to the authors' observations on p. vi of the Preface, and pay tribute both to the value of the comments themselves and to the consistency achieved through what must have been constant revisions; only very seldom does unrevised matter seem to be retained (as in the note on Mari, p. 141). Misprints in all this mass of difficult detail are remarkably few—two involving transcription are p. 175, ABRE-ŠIDA, faithfully copied from an apparently misprinted authority, and p. 293, where the omission of a point produces a strange-looking TUGAB in the god's name.

No doubt the Laws of Hammu-rabi will continue slowly to accumulate improved understandings of detail, but they now have a truly standard edition, and it should be long before a successor can be required.

C. J. GADD.

DIE ARABISCHEN STUDIEN IN EUROPA. By J. FÜCK. pp. 335.
Harrassowitz, Leipzig. 1955. DM 19, 35.

In 1944 Professor Fück published an account of Arabic studies in Europe to the beginning of the nineteenth century and the present volume is an extension of the earlier work; though living scholars are excluded, some modern books which correct earlier views are mentioned in notes. A few corrections have been made in the original work but one slip has been left—"Arabic" words in the poems of Ibn Quzman (p. 14) where "Romance" is wanted. There are gaps in the index and some misprints (Bennett in place of Dennett), but that exhausts criticism. Treatment varies; a section may be devoted to one scholar, to a prominent man and his pupils, to a period in a country, or to a subject. The book is not a dry list of men and books; the lives of important scholars are recounted with appraisal of their work as a whole or of individual books and the author communicates his admiration for his heroes to the reader. He shows that the study

Arabic began as a help to the work of Christian missions, continued as an aid to the study of the Old Testament and at last won the right to exist for itself. A book to be recommended.

A. S. TRITTON.

LE LIVRE DE SCIENCE, I. Translated by M. ACHENA and H. MASSÉ.
pp. 241. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1955.

The *Dānishnāme* of Avicenna was meant to be a *summa* of human knowledge on the lines of *al-Shifā*, but it was left unfinished and was completed by a pupil. The plan of the Persian work was different; it begins with logic (the tool), continues with metaphysics (the supreme branch of knowledge), to be followed by physics and mathematics, which last includes music. It was an achievement to write four times on logic without repeating himself. This volume contains the sections on logic and metaphysics from the *Dānishnāme*, the autobiography of Avicenna as completed by his pupil, some account of his writings, a summary of his philosophy, and notes on the version. There is a full table of contents but no index and the transliteration *hr* for *kh* annoys. The translators claim that this is the most complete and concise statement of Avicenna's views—it is certainly not easy reading—and it is believed to be the first book on philosophy to be written in Persian. Most of the philosophy is given up to a discussion of absolute being. A curious statement of the translators that substance may be one of five things—matter, form, body, reason, or soul—is based on the assertion that substance has four modes: (1) matter, the substrate, e.g. of fire; (2) form, the igneous nature; (3) the combination of (1) and (2), the burning body; (4) what is independent of body, soul, or reason. Again, on p. 201 is a passage where either the translation or the original text seems at fault.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE EVILDOERS IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS. By HARRIS BIRKELAND.
(Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.
II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1955. No. 2.) pp. 96. Oslo: I Kommissjon
hos Jacob Dybwad, 1955.

Evildoers are referred to by various epithets in most of the Biblical psalms and Professor Birkeland here develops, with copious references or quotations, his theory that almost always they are the Gentile enemies of Israel under another name. He elucidates the few passages which seem at first refractory to his theory.

His main thesis is that, since the evildoers in some psalms are indubitably the Gentile enemies of the nation, they must be so in all the others unless in one or more this identification can be proved untenable. This contention is not unassailable, since the psalms belong

to various authors and periods, but Birkeland defends skilfully his view that nearly all have a common ideology and many a common functional origin. The ideology is a "universalistic" extreme nationalism distinct from the non-nationalistic universalism of the prophets; the original function of many, perhaps almost all, of the psalms, whether individualistic or communal, was used at an annual New Year festival where Yahweh was enthroned as universal King. With many scholars, Birkeland considers the fact of such a festival to be established and he holds that the "I" of the psalms is always a representative (royal or other) of the nation. He believes that, whether the main theme of an enthronement psalm is national thanksgiving or national lamentation and supplication, most of them reflect the historical situation at the time of compilation. He criticizes Gunkel's literary "Gattungen" as largely irrelevant and he rejects both the view that the "enemies" are merely mythical and the contention that a "fertility" element, such as the death and resurrection of a god, appears in some of the psalms.

CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

SUMERIAN ECONOMIC TEXTS FROM THE FIRST DYNASTY OF ISIN. By V. E. CRAWFORD. 75 pp., xciii plates. Yale University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1954. 63s. net.

The 535 tablets published in copy in this volume are all concerned with the leather industry in one town during thirty-six years of the reigns of Ishbi-Erra and Shu-ilishu. The town cannot be identified as yet. Its population was predominantly Sumerian and Akkadian. In the theophoric names of local officials, the deities Adad, Enlil, Erra, Eshtar, Nannar, and Sin predominate. The temples most frequently named are those of Dagan and Enlil. Town names occur rarely; Barsifa, Mari, Nippur, and Tilmun more frequently than others. Ur, the capital of the previous kingdom, occurs unimpressively three times, and Lagash, Umma, Warka, not at all. We seem to be in the northern part of Sumer and Akkad. The frequency with which *mar-tu* occurs is striking, and not after personal names only. The language is Sumerian. The hides and skins and their uses are much as on Ur III tablets which, however, do not have the verb *MIR*, i.e. *dul*, to express, perhaps, some part of the tanning process. Linguistically the texts present some odd features. That Akkadian words are used is not, at this period, surprising, but that they should be followed by Sumerian suffixes, *-bi*, *-sé*, is.

The copies are prefaced by a valuable discussion of the Chronology of the reigns of the first two Isin kings, by the usual indices, and by a most helpful catalogue with some new features. Mr. Crawford mentions his unpublished dissertation on "Terminology of the Leather Industry

in Late Sumerian Times". It is to be hoped that he will publish this, at least in part. Meanwhile, he is to be congratulated on the present excellent piece of work.

T. FISH.

STANDARD COLLOQUIAL ARABIC. By ELIAS N. HADDAD and JALIL Z. IRANY. pp. 48 and 144. Jerusalem (Maṭba'a Dār al-aitām al-islāmiya al-ṣinā 'īya), 1955. 11s.

This is the third edition of "The Spoken Arabic of Palestine" which has been found useful by many, and has now been rewritten and renamed. The authors' aim is to give a good understanding of spoken Arabic, more particularly that of Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and to prepare the way for a study of the classical language. The book mainly consists of lessons with vocabularies and sentences, dealing with the kinds of things people want to be able to say. Among these are a number of polite phrases which it is very essential to learn. A few stories, proverbs, and idiomatic phrases are added, and the formal grammar is given in a condensed manner. A commendable feature is the use of Arabic script. This book, which provides a very helpful introduction to colloquial Arabic is, as the authors recognize, one which requires the help of a teacher.

JAMES ROBSON.

ZARYS DYPLMATYKI OSMANSKO-TURECKIEJ. By A. ZAJĄCZKOWSKI and J. REYCHMAN. pp. 168, numerous plates and illustrations. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955.

It might at first be thought that this admirable production of the *doyen* of Polish Turcologists and one of his colleagues would be no more than a tantalizing closed book for Turcologists unfamiliar with the Polish language, but in fact, though obviously much of its value will escape readers unequipped with this knowledge, it is not too much to say that this Outline of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatic is an almost indispensable handbook for anyone who wishes to study Ottoman official documents and, in particular, diplomatic correspondence. It contains admirable tables of the principal alphabets used, reproductions of specimen documents in them, a detailed account of the principal components of such documents and the dating system, together with lists of the Ottoman Sultans, the Grand Viziers, the Khans of Krym, and other important personages, and a most comprehensive bibliography. The only obvious defect in the book is a curious mistake in the folded table at the end for converting A.H. dates to A.D. The table works out right up to A.H. 799 = A.D. 1396-7, but A.H. 800 is made equivalent to A.D. 1497-8 and from then on the A.D. dates are 100 years too high. The mistake is easily corrected by a few simple changes and purchasers should make them immediately they buy the book.

GERARD CLAUSEN.

DIWAN (Hoceïn Mansûr Hallâj). Translated by LOUIS MASSIGNON.
(Documents spirituels, 10.) Cahiers du Sud, Paris. pp. xlvii
+ 159. 1955.

If this book had been published in England, it would have been bound in limp leather. It looks like parts of two different books; the translation is presumably for those who know no Arabic, while the so-called commentary and part of the introduction are for advanced students. The life of Hallâj, as told in the introduction, is suited to the layman but the pages on the influence of Hallâj are lists of names which interest only the student of eastern mysticism and are unknown to others. The translation seems to have been made expressly for this book, but it is not always an improvement on the professor's earlier versions and is, in places, very free if not even inaccurate. To take one example: Il s'exprime par les lèvres même de ceux dont l'épellation est nouée, pour ceux qui Lui parlent. A version published in 1936 is: Sa vrai signification se trouve sur les lèvres de ceux qui purent déchiffrer tel (Nom) énigmatique, Impossible à épeler, devant des gens qui s'étaient contentés de l'articuler. The sense seems to be: His significance is on the lips of those who solved what was too intricate to be spelled for those who had (merely) mouthed it.

Many of the verses display deep spiritual insight but in others the author tries to say what cannot be uttered; wiser men have left this unsaid.

A. S. TRITTON.

QATABAN AND SHEBA. By WENDELL PHILLIPS. pp. 335, ills. 82, diag. 5,
maps 3. London: Victor Gollancz, 1955. 21s.

The name fits the book for nearly all of it is taken up with two expeditions, to Timna in the Aden protectorate, and to Marib in the Yemen. The story is popular in the good sense, telling of the daily work, trials, and joys of archæology and making plain the importance of results which are not spectacular. The sideshows of this life often make amusing tales. The first expedition to Timna was a great success; part of a town was laid bare which gave information about architecture and material well-being, many inscriptions threw light on local history and individual finds helped to link up local with general history. The figure of Cupid riding on a lion appears in the Hellenistic world about 150 B.C. so a similar figure in South Arabia will not be earlier than this and may be much later; it depends on the time lag. Perhaps even more important, a series of pottery types was established which will fix relative dates when further work is possible in this area. One would like to know more about the Canaanite letters and the earliest graffiti which were found. The second expedition was a great failure. After a promising beginning at the Haram Bilqis where a new type of building,

bronze statues, and many inscriptions were found, the attitude of the local soldiery grew so threatening that the expedition fled for its life, leaving behind all its finds and most of its equipment. The story is a thriller. Of course, we have only one side of the story. The royal permit to excavate was worthless because the local people had not received orders from the king direct. The viceroy was opposed to all foreigners and, if the Yemenis learnt the art of obstruction from their former rulers, the Turks, they have equalled if they have not surpassed their masters. To an armchair critic it is clear that things would have run more smoothly if the Americans had put the man in charge of the labourers on their pay-roll, i.e. if they had bribed him. A picture of the lady interpreter in a very low cut dress makes one wonder if she was always as tactful as she might have been. Also there are pitfalls in the Yemen for one who knows only the northern dialects. It was believed that they were looking for gold and the question forces itself on the reader whether a less elaborate outfit would not have had a better chance of success. Given the belief in buried treasure and the suspicions of an out-of-the-way people such elaborate preparations could only mean hopes of a big return. At this distance one cannot say if anything could have been done to meet the prejudices of authority. At Timna an attempt to exploit the workmen was frustrated but there authority was favourable. The pictures are good and illustrate the text. Why did Mr. Wendell Phillips look to the north-east at Timna when he dreamed of Marib which (according to his own map) lies to the north-west?

A. S. TRITTON.

DIE KLASSISCH-ARABISCHEN SPRICHWORTERSAMMLUNGEN. By RUDOLF SELLHEIM. pp. vii + 164. Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1954.

By way of preface to the edition which he is preparing of the Book of Proverbs of Abū 'Ubaid, Dr. Sellheim has issued this study of the origins and literary collections of proverbs in classical Arabic. He makes a thoroughgoing examination of the extant works in MS. or in print, and more particularly of the sources and transmission of Abū 'Ubaid's material and of the commentary made on it by the Andalusian al-Bakri, and prefaces this by a discriminating analysis of the types of "proverbs" which they include. The work can be recommended without qualification as an admirable technical introduction to the subject.

H. A. R. GIBB.

DESCRIPTIO ARABIAE MERIDIONALIS. PARS POSTERIOR. By IBN AL-MUĠĀWIR. Ed. O. LÖFGREN. pp. 153-204, plans 9. Leiden, 1954.

This instalment completes the publication of Ibn al-Mujāwir's account of Arabia. The geographical part consists largely of the distances between places on the various routes, some of them mythical. But the

book is enlivened with stories and accounts of local customs. The author was a fervent nationalist from Yemen, for everything is located in South Arabia, the seven sleepers of Ephesus and several incidents well-known in Arab story. He says that polyandry existed, that seven men had one wife between them and, when one of them found a pair of shoes outside the woman's house, he knew that she was engaged with another of the seven. Strabo tells the same tale. The architect, who was killed by a jealous king that he might not build anything more grand for a rival potentate, is also located in South Arabia. This example of local custom is amusing. When a man wanted to marry, he told the woman's father who presently told him that his daughter was going to a certain market. The man watched the girl carry her load to market, watched her selling and buying and also how she walked home, all this without speaking to her. If the inspection was satisfactory, negotiations began in earnest. The MSS. on which the edition is based are not good and, though the editor has done much to remedy their deficiencies, much still remains to be done.

A. S. TRITTON.

EUROPE AND THE TURK—A PATTERN OF ALLIANCES (1350-1700). By D. M. VAUGHAN. pp. viii + 305. Univ. Press, Liverpool, 1954.

The aim of this book is to describe how "the Ottoman Empire . . . became from its first beginnings entwined with the rivalries of European states". The failure of Europe to repel the Turk in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the growth of Ottoman power at sea, the alliance with France and later with England, the Turks and the Counter-Reformation, and their final offensive against Austria, ending with the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699 are here set forth in a clear and absorbing narrative, which brings out well, from the multitude of facts, their general trend and significance. With a subject so vast and complex, Miss Vaughan has had perforce to base her work predominantly on the studies of Western scholars, and her book will therefore be most welcome also as a source of bibliographical information. English readers have had to wait long for such a comprehensive review of the relations between Western Christendom and the Ottoman Turks in the centuries of their undiminished greatness. Let us hope that Miss Vaughan will soon be able to fulfil her intention to describe in a second volume how the Ottoman Empire, in more recent times, became "the victim of European intrigue and ambitions".

V. J. PARRY.

COINS OF THE SPANISH MULŪK AL-TAWĀ'IF. By GEORGE C. MILES. pp. xi + 168, 15 plates. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1954.

After *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (New York, 1950),

Mr. Miles has published the present work. It is in effect a catalogue, clearly and concisely set out, of the coins of the period belonging to the Hispanic Society of America and the American Numismatic Society; but since the number of specimens in these two collections seems to exceed those in all the rest of the published collections together, Mr. Miles's book is no small contribution.

On pp. 39-40 a reader not very familiar with the history of the period might not readily realize that *Saḡawt* is the ruler whose name generally appears in the form *Soggout*. The fact that the name is sometimes written with *qāf*, sometimes with *kāf*, shows that the sound represented is a *g*; the doubling of this letter, and the vowels, may be only conjectural.

I observe that on the coins minted at Calatayud (pp. 109-110) this town is called *Qalā'at Ayyūb*. I have not been able to find examples of this orthography elsewhere, the usual form being, of course, *Qal'at Ayyūb*. The dictionaries do not give *qalā'a* as a variant for *qal'a*.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Miles will give us in the same convenient form books dealing with the rest of the Spanish-Arab dynasties.

J. F. P. HOPKINS.

LE MILIEU BAŞRIEN ET LA FORMATION DE ĞĀĤİZ. By CHARLES PELLAT.
pp. xxxvi, 311. Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1953.

The purpose of this work is to lay a good foundation for a study of the literary activity of Jāḥīz (*ca.* 160-255). The author holds that a general treatment would inevitably be superficial until isolated fragments quoted by later authors are collected and considered, a strict chronology of his works is established, and the background of his writing is sought by a study of the intellectual, social, religious, and political situation in which he was nurtured. While his literary activity came to fruition in Baghdād, Jāḥīz is a product of Baṣra, where he lived most of his life. So this work is a preliminary study in which the available material regarding Baṣra is collected. An account is given of the founding of Baṣra and of the elements in the population, after which certain matters relating to Jāḥīz, and the influences which affected his religious and intellectual development are discussed. The main part of the book consists of an analysis of the various elements in the orthodox religious, literary, politico-religious, and social aspects of life in Baṣra. The author has studied all the relevant sources to good purpose. The value of this work, which is fully documented, is enhanced by appendices giving details of the chronology, and of the governors and administration up to 255/868-9, and of the judicial organization and the *qāḍīs* up to 250/864-5.

By this distinguished contribution to historical studies the stage has been set for a clearer representation of the literary activity of Jāḥīz.

While the town in which he grew up does not account for his originality, it has great importance in the formation of his interests and outlook.

JAMES ROBSON.

GAYŌMART. By SVEN S. HARTMAN. pp. 215 + 100. Uppsala, 1953.

This book, like so much recently given to us by Swedish specialists in Iranian studies, is nothing if not original. Originality is not necessarily a virtue in a work of scholarship. The function of scholarship is to elicit the truth from the texts, not to plead the cause of a particular theory. But Dr. Hartman is never content to allow the evidence to speak for itself, and seems determined to make it fit in with his own interesting theories. These the reader is not permitted to doubt ("aucun doute ne nous est permis à ce sujet", pp. 26 and 29; cf. p. 54), though what the authority is which arrogates to itself the right to suspend the reader from exercising his judgment is not made clear. Most of the conclusions drawn are open to serious doubt and it would be surprising if this were not so.

The author is to be congratulated on the pains he has taken in bringing to light much unpublished material. It is a pity that he has done so little to assess its value or to indicate which sources he considers to derive from which.

Perhaps the most novel view is the identification of Mithra with Mašyē as well as with Gayōmart. This identification is based on Pahlavi and Arabic readings of the name, though it is notorious that proper names in both these alphabets are liable to the extreme of corruption. The reading *MTWW* (usually = *Miθr*) of K 20 proves nothing since the same group of letters can equally well be read as *mahr* as in *Zand ī Xʷartak Apastāk*, p. 183.9 *MTWWSPND'NW* = *Mahraspandān*. On p. 43 *āsrōk karp* is read for *asarōk karp* (the well attested "Endless Form") and is translated, after Christensen, as "le corps d'un prêtre" which is bizarre in the context. In seeking to separate Mihr from Mašyē (Mašyak) in Bd. Ch. XIV, the author points to the fact that the first is provided with a *xʷarr* which he translates as "auréole", and uses this as an argument that he must be distinct from the second who is "characterized by his culpability". Whatever the word *xʷarr* may mean elsewhere, it is here identified with *ruvān* ("soul") or again in the next line of the same text as that which is under the direction of the soul. This type of special pleading is too common in this book and detracts from its value. Some of the ideas put forward are not unsound—the correspondences between Mithra and Gayōmart, for instance—but the special pleading is only likely to prejudice one against the more solidly argued parts of the book.

R. C. ZAEHNER.

STAATSSCHREIBEN DER TIMURIDENZEIT. Das Šaraf-nāmā des 'Abdallāh Marwārīd in kritischer Auswertung. Persischer Text in Faksimile von HANS ROBERT ROEMER. pp. viii + 224 + 75. Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH., Wiesbaden, 1952.

This work consists of the Persian text in facsimile and a German translation together with an introduction, commentary, and bibliography. The text contains a number of documents for various religious offices, such as the *šadr*, *qāzī*, *naqīb un-nuqabā*, *muhtasib*, *mudarris*, *bukāwul*, and *shaikh ul-islām*. It is less rich, however, in documents concerning other government officials. It contains also a number of grants of tax immunities, documents relating to *awqāf*, road passes, some diplomatic correspondence and literary documents. The compiler, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Marwārīd, held the office of *muhtasib* and later of *šadr* at the court of Ḥusain Baiqara, and became in 1501 the Keeper of the Great Seal. He died in 1516.

The collection is especially valuable for the light it throws on Timurid administrative practice. The diplomas for the office of *šadr* show that the development of this office in Safavid times can be traced back to Timurid times. No. 19 makes it clear that the *šadr* was already the most important religious official in the state. The appointment and dismissal of the *qāzīs*, *khatibs*, *imāms*, and *muhtasibs* was entrusted to him. It is natural that, in view of the close connection between political stability and orthodox religion, the furtherance of right religion should also be one of his duties.

The compilation is interesting from the literary point of view. The style of the documents is more ornate than that of the documents issued by the *dīwān* of Sanjar, the last Great Seljūq, but less florid than that of the later Safavid documents. The editor has added a useful introduction on Persian *inshā'* literature.

The term *mi'mār* (17a) has been translated by architect (p. 79). It is probably not used here in this sense, but rather to designate some local official concerned with general development and agricultural affairs (cf. *at-Tavassul ilā't-Tarassul* of Bahā ud-Dīn b. Mu'ayyad, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran, 1315/1936, pp. 110 *et seq.*).

ANN K. S. LAMBTON.

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN ALBANIA. By MARGARET HASLUCK. Edited by J. H. HUTTON. pp. xv + 285. Cambridge University Press, 30s.

When Mrs. Hasluck died in 1948, she had completed only part of the task of writing this book, to which she had bravely devoted the last years of her life. She was fortunate, at least, in her choice of literary executor, for Mrs. Alderson has so pieced together Mrs. Hasluck's notes according to the author's plan that the book reads, and reads

well, like the work of a single hand. Through a study of the regulation of the community by law and custom, a clear picture emerges of Albanian peasant life in the home and in the fields. Details are selected for comment, not only with a view to producing a treatise on the legal institutions of Albanian communities, but also with an affectionate eye for the characteristic values of those communities, and the social atmosphere in which the unwritten law operates. The length of the author's acquaintance with her subject is apparent in the blend of authority, modesty, and sympathy with which she presents it. Any study of unwritten law is of particular interest to anthropologists to-day, for as work in this field proceeds, the possibility of sound comparative study increases, and there is much here which will interest students of primitive legal institutions. The study is the more valuable in that it covers an almost unknown field, and includes observations which it is most unlikely that anyone will be able to make again. Much of the custom which Mrs. Hasluck has recorded, with insight into what its real value was for those who practised it, can survive only in communities with more local autonomy than any modern theory of statecraft can tolerate. The book will be an essential historical document for the Albanians themselves.

Professor J. H. Hutton's introduction relates this particular study to the wider field of anthropological studies of religion and law, and indicates how a wide acquaintance with many superficially different societies may provide illuminating evidence for their profounder similarities.

R. G. LIENHARDT.

KITĀB ĀDĀB AŞ-ŞUĤBA. By ABŪ 'ABD AR-RAĤMĀN AS-SULAMĪ. Edited by M. J. KISTER. pp. 10 + 97. Oriental Notes and Studies published by the Israel Oriental Society, No. 6. Jerusalem, 1954. \$2.00.

Sulamī (330-412) was a noted Šūfī who is credited with having written many books, only a few of which are extant. He exerted considerable influence, and he is frequently quoted by others in their works, notably by Qushairī in his *Risāla*. *Ādāb aş-şuĥba wa-ḥusn al-ʿishra*, to give the work its full title, is an interesting book dealing with social behaviour. While it is presumably meant primarily for the guidance of members of the Šūfī brotherhood, it is expressed in such general terms as may prove attractive to any Muslim. Sulamī gives counsel regarding a proper approach to God and man, not forgetting to give warning about certain types of people with whom one should not associate. This therefore serves as a useful handbook of guidance for any Muslim. Its appeal is strengthened by Sulamī's practice of introducing each topic by quotations from the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, or people held in general esteem.

The editing of this work has been very carefully done. The editor

has used three MSS., on the basis of which he has established his text. Besides textual notes, he has supplied copious notes on the contents and on the men whose names occur. The notes are in Arabic. The Introduction, besides giving a brief account of the book and its sources, discusses the author, his works, and his critics. The Introduction is in Arabic, and there is also a slightly shorter version of it in English.

JAMES ROBSON.

DISCOVERIES IN THE JUDAEAN DESERT I: QUMRAN CAVE I. By D. BARTHÉLEMY, O.P., and J. T. MILIK, with contributions by R. DE VAUX, O.P., H. J. PLENDERLEITH, G. M. CROWFOOT, and G. LANKESTER HARDING. pp. xi, 165, xxxvii plates. Clarendon Press, 1955. 63s.

This fine volume is, we hope, the precursor of a series which will deal with the rich, and as yet unpublished, material from the caves at Murabba'at and the vicinity, Qumran Caves II to VI, the Essene settlement at Khirbet Qumran, and the late documents from Khirbet Mird. When Mr. Lankester Harding and Père de Vaux excavated the cave where the original Dead Sea Scrolls were claimed to have been discovered, they found a very large number of MS. fragments, varying from forty lines to one or two words. These *dissecta membra* have been carefully assembled, and the major part of the present volume is devoted to the presentation in facsimile, transcription, and translation where possible, of these fragments. The first thing to be said is that the fragments effectively dispose of such theories of forgery or hoax as have been put forward. As further discoveries have conclusively shown, they are a part of the remains of the library of biblical and other religious documents belonging to a Jewish sectarian community which was settled in this wild desert area during the first and second centuries A.D. Merely from an epigraphical point of view these minute fragments have a definite value, and some of the longer fragments, such as those which form a part of a work called *The Sayings of Moses*, and another called *The Rule of the Congregation*, are of intrinsic importance for their contents, as furnishing information about the beliefs and practices of the settlement at Qumran. The production of this splendid *editio princeps* reflects the greatest credit on the scholars who have collaborated in the task, and on the Clarendon Press for the accuracy with which a very difficult piece of typography has been carried out.

S. H. HOOKE.

ARABISCHE BRIEFE; AUS DER PAPYRUSSAMMLUNG DER HAMBURGER STAATS- UND UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK. Ed. A. DIETERICH. pp. xvi + 231, pl. 20. J. J. Augustin, Hamburg, 1955.

The editing of private letters from papyri is a ticklish job because,

apart from the ordinary difficulties of decipherment, other obstacles have to be surmounted; the editor works in a vacuum, knowing nothing about the correspondents and what they are likely to write, the subject of the letter is often not explained in full as the recipient already knows much about it, the writer may jump from one subject to another and is not always educated. Professor Dieterich is to be thanked for having done a difficult task thoroughly and the printers have made a handsome volume. Nine letters deal with agriculture, twelve with taxes, nine with business, nineteen with private affairs and there are twenty fragments. Too much space is taken up with polite phrases and apologies for twice used papyrus take the place of the traditional English, "excuse bad writing and spelling." A "duty" letter from a boy says as little as a modern boy would say in similar circumstances. Another is from a sick mother to her son. In themselves the letters are not interesting but one never knows what light they may throw on other papyri. The editor's notes give all the necessary information on Arabic and Coptic names, the script, administration, and trade. *Thaman* (p. 42) seems to mean "amount"; this meaning is not in the dictionaries and deserves a note. I would suggest that *āmūl* (p. 25) should be *ahl* and translate "if God wills your family (wife) and children may be in health"; and *raddahu* (p. 160) "he beat him and drove him away". Most of the plates are clear though some of the best leave us wondering at the patience and skill of the editor.

A. S. TRITTON.

ZURVAN, A ZOROASTRIAN DILEMMA. By R. C. ZAEHNER. pp. 495.
Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955.

For the student of the Avesta this is a thought-provoking work; and its appearance will lend fresh weight to the decree of Xusrau I (p. 9) that "the Avesta and Zand be studied zealously and ever afresh". Although the amount of Avestan material in Part II (Texts) is small, it will be the duty of scholars to re-examine the difficult Avestan literature in the light of this study as a whole. Not the least of the book's merits is that it presents in Part II such a substantial amount of Pahlavī and Pāzand material in transliteration and with translation. There is a full Bibliography, a Select Glossary, and a most useful Index of Subjects.

A few very small points may be found useful: p. 171, n. 5, 'SWMBŠN v. Henning, *Sogdica* (J. G. Forlong Fund, xxi, R.A.S., 1940), p. 23 foot, where one may now add to the reference there given to Morgenstierne IIFL, ii, p. 252 (Pashto Present Stem *šūm*- "drink" quoted from one passage), Pashto *šūmol* "to gulp (a liquid)" Present *šūm*- (Dictionaries, *Pashto Sind*, and Zudin, *Afghan-Russian Dictionary*).

Pashto Sind gives s.v. *šūmai* "gulping", Kabuli Persian *šub* "id."

p. 311, ad l. 238, also Pashto *zaryūn* "green" (Morgenstierne, Et. Voc. Psht., p. 25).

p. 283, l. 201, *mēnišnōmand* presumably for *mēnišnōmand* (where happily the error may be laid at the door of the present writer!).

A postscript has appeared in *BSOAS.*, 1955, xvii/2.

G. MORRISON.

DIE BULGARISCHE FÜRSTENLISTE UND DIE SPRACHE DER PROTO-BULGAREN. By OMELIAN PRITSAK. Ural-Altaische Bibliothek No. 1. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1955. pp. 102 and 3 plates.

This courageous and thought-provoking book is greatly to be welcomed. The author has come out with a chain of theories which many of us have held in private for some time past, and has marshalled in their favour evidence, some of it new or newly interpreted, which will carry a great deal of conviction. His thesis, stated as briefly as possible, is that the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese histories are the same people as the Huns of European history, that the (Turkish-speaking) Bulgars are the direct descendants of that people, and accordingly that the aberrant ("L/R") but very archaic form of Turkish spoken by the Bulgars is a later stage of the Hunnish language. The whole theory is *prima facie* convincing, more particularly because it is so economical and leaves none of the loose ends which immediately emerge if it is contended, for example, that the Hsiung-nu were a different people from the European Huns or that they spoke a non-Turkish language. Some of the new arguments brought forward by the author are most attractive on historic or linguistic grounds. For example, it seems extremely probable that Irnik, the second ruler in the Bulgarian Rulers' list, is identical with Ernik, the youngest son of Attila, and that Doulo, the clan-name of the earlier rulers in that list, is identical with T'u-ko (*d'o-klāk* in Archaic Chinese, Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* 45i 1-766a), the clan-name of the Hsiung-nu royal family. There are, of course, points with which some scholars will disagree even if they accept the main thesis. For example, if dates precisely 150 years before the accession of Gostun and precisely 300 years before that can be pinpointed in history, this can obviously not be more than purely coincidental, since all the analogies of other king-lists suggest that these two figures are merely conventional expressions of five and ten generations respectively at an average of thirty years each. I am also personally quite unconvinced by the suggestion on p. 67 that *ime* is an old "Altaic" word for "horse". The Turkish word *emlik* (and the like) supposedly meaning "wild (horse)", for the existence of which the author marshals some, but not all, the evidence, does not necessarily mean "horse" at all; etymologically it means "suckling"

and can be applied to any animal (colt, calf, etc.) too young to be put to work. I am also unconvinced by the theory that Bixtun in the List represents the name of the Hsiung-nu ruler Mao-tun, which seems to me rather to be a transcription of the Turkish name Bagatur. But these are only small points of disagreement among a multitude of other points which seem to be both true and often new. The careful and painstaking scholarship which pervades the whole book is worthy of the highest praise.

GERARD CLAUSON.

STUDIES IN THE NUMISMATIC HISTORY OF GEORGIA IN TRANSCAUCASIA.

By Dr. DAVID M. LANG. pp. 138, 15 plates, and 2 maps. Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 130. The American Numismatic Society, New York, 1955.

The task of describing a collection of coins dating from the fifth century B.C. to the nineteenth century A.D., the only connecting link between which is the fact that they were all issued or circulated in Georgia in Transcaucasia, as the title puts it with a meticulousness necessary in the United States, is one that might well have daunted the bravest polymath, but our Fellow, Dr. Lang, has tackled it with courage and great success. The history of Georgia is a fascinating, though clotted, one and the present book is well calculated to arouse interest in it far beyond numismatic circles. For example, the Tiflis dirhem of A.D. 1244, No. 15 on p. 35, struck in the name of the *uluḡ Monkol ulus beg* "the beg of the great Mongol realm", shows the original Turkish spelling of the old Turkish word *ulus* which was borrowed by the Mongols, turned into *ulus* according to the rules of Mongolian phonetics, which do not admit a final *ṣ*, and later returned to Turkish in this Mongolian form, which it still retains. This must be about the latest example of the old authentic Turkish spelling. Perhaps this is an appropriate place to apologize to Dr. Lang for misleading him on one point. When I wrote to him the letter quoted on p. 53, I had temporarily forgotten the rules of P'ags-pa spelling, which Mr. Yoshitake and I worked out thirty years ago and published in this Journal. As the three characters making up Ghazan's mysterious *nishān* are, in the original P'ags-pa, all joined together, the transcription should be *Qān*, not *Qa'an*.

GERARD CLAUSON.

AL-MA'AJIM AL-'ARABĪYA. By Dr. 'ABDALLĀH DARWĪSH. pp. 165. Cairo, 1956.

The development of Islamic studies, particularly in the West, is hampered not only by the narrow front on which much research is conducted, but also by the virtual inaccessibility, in compact, reliable,

and documented form, of the vast and varied stock of elementary data on which all research must be based. The situation does improve, however (albeit slowly, as must inevitably be the case where the work of compilation is held in almost as low esteem academically as is teaching), and one notes with particular satisfaction several of the articles in the new *Encyclopædia of Islam*, as well as a number of recent books and articles, particularly from Egypt and from France.

One such small way-mark is the present bio-bibliographical survey of Arabic lexicography from the earliest times to the present day. It is now possible to discover something about the Arabic lexicographers, their range, their methods, and their merits and defects, by referring to a handy volume of some 160 pages instead of jumping back and forth between the Preface to Lane, Sauvaget's *Introduction*, and an assortment of articles in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and elsewhere. In places Dr. Darwish's treatment may be less full and balanced than any particular one of these other sources, but nowhere else can one obtain so clear an overall picture at the net price of knowing modern Arabic.

Apart from the usual, but ever regrettable, tendency to disparage things European, the work has a particular orientation indicated by its sub-title: "with special reference to the dictionary *Al-'Ain* by Khalil b. Ahmad." To some extent, this rather thesis-like preoccupation with the shadowy figure of Khalil, and his possible importance and influence, has upset the equilibrium of the book as a whole, but Dr. Darwish justifiably claims our critical interest for his important speculations on the various ingenious methods of classification adopted by the traditional Arabic lexicographers.

Somewhat ironically, the work lacks an alphabetical index, but the clear chapter-headings help to overcome this difficulty. There are a few misprints.

G. M. WICKENS.

THE KORAN INTERPRETED. By A. J. ARBERRY. 2 vols., pp. 350 + 367. George Allen and Unwin, 1955. 45s.

This is not a commentary on the Koran and there are no notes, but there are two prefaces, one for each volume, which explain the author's purpose. He states that his chief reason for offering this new version of the Koran—which he holds is untranslatable—is that no serious attempt has hitherto been made to recognize the rhetorical and rhythmic pattern of the book. The rhythm, he thinks, is the clue to the arresting and hypnotic power of the Koran, a rhythm which changes, but is always to be found.

Dr. Arberry has made a wide study of Islamic mysticism—Sūfism—and it is in mysticism that he finds the key to the mystery of the

Koran. He feels that the Prophet himself knew what it was to pass through the mystic's experience, that he felt all truth was present to his mind at one and the same time, and all truth was revealed in his message.

This means that each Sura, however incongruous its parts may sometimes seem to be, did, in fact, form an artistic whole, of rich pattern, and the whole Koran can be seen to be a single revelation. To many it may seem to be a confusing book, but it should be seen as one message, and, to the Prophet, an eternal message. This, Dr. Arberry feels, is the right way to approach the study of the Koran if it is really to be understood.

These two volumes will be found to be provocative of much thought, and all students of Islam will be glad to have the opportunity of studying this new version of the Koran, written as it is after a fresh and striking pattern, by one who has made a long and profound study of the problems which it contains.

MARGARET SMITH.

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF ROYAL ACHAEMENID ELAMITE.
By H. H. PAPER. pp. xi + 119. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955.

As the author of this little book remarks, the analysis of the Royal Achaemenid Elamite (R.A.E.) language has remained in approximately the same position for the last hundred years. The reason is not far to seek. It is merely the language of a few translations of inscriptions existing also in two better known languages, so contains nothing of independent historic importance. However, it is high time that the subject was re-examined, and this for two reasons. The first is that more Elamite material has now accumulated. Some of it is more or less contemporary with the Achaemenid inscriptions, the Persepolis Treasury Tablets, and though they do not at first sight seem exciting, it is certainly desirable that they should be read as fully as possible. Some of it, the earlier Elamite material, is likely to be more important, and the only hope of making anything of it, and that not a very good one, is to get as full a knowledge as possible of the later stages of the language. The other reason is a good deal more important, for it goes to the root of the prehistory of the Middle East. At dates which are now reasonably well known the eastern part of this area was occupied by peoples talking Indo-European languages, Iranian and the like, the north-western part by peoples talking other Indo-European languages, Hittite and the like, and the southern part by peoples talking Semitic languages. But clearly all these peoples were intruders; there were other peoples there first, talking other languages, Sumerian, Elamite, Mitanni, Urartian, and so on. The crucial problem is whether or not

these peoples and the languages they talked are related to one another; in other words, whether or not we can assume a uniform substratum of people and languages in the area, something like the Indo-European or Semitic ethnical and linguistic families, and, if so, whether or not its descendants still survive as the peoples and languages of the Caucasus. The problem is, of course, an archæological as well as a linguistic one, and the archæologists are hard at work. It is therefore good that Mr. Paper should have embarked on one linguistic aspect of the problem and produced a first-class analysis, based on modern methods, of the phonology and morphology of R.A.E., which will enable it to be compared with the other "sub-stratum" languages of the area. It should, however, be emphasized that the two subjects are not exactly on all fours with one another. Morphology is a more or less exact science, and apart from the fact that "translation language" is always liable, particularly in details of syntax, to be somewhat different from the language of original compositions, we have here a very precise analysis of the morphology of R.A.E. to serve as a basis of comparison. Phonology must always be more indefinite. We know reasonably well, though not by any means in precise detail, how Old Persian and Late Babylonian, the other two R.A. languages, were pronounced, and this gives us a rough idea of the sounds associated with the signs used to represent R.A.E., but it would be too much to hope that they can give us a precise idea of the consonantal and vocalic make-up of the language. All we can get, or ever hope to get, is a rough idea of what R.A.E. probably sounded like. This indefiniteness is fortunately not important, for we can be sure of one thing, that the phonetics were not static, they were always on the move. So, too, probably was the morphology, but a fairly precise idea of the morphology of the language in the Achaemenid period is a solid base for further study and we are grateful to Mr. Paper for providing it.

GERARD CLAUSON.

South-East Asia

LA GESTE FRANCAISE EN INDOCHINE. By GEORGES TABOULET.
Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1955. Vol. I. pp. 424, with illustrations.

This is the first of two volumes dealing with French activities in, and relationships with, Indo-China. It describes the period from the arrival of the first French missionaries in Indo-China early in the seventeenth century down to the persecution of Christian missionaries under the emperor Tu Duc in the middle of the nineteenth century. The author has adopted the method of printing relevant passages from original documents, chiefly contemporary letters, interspersing these with narrative passages that describe the train of events and link

together the succession of documents. The titles of books containing further information about particular incidents or persons are given in the appropriate places throughout the book.

It is a useful book since it prints so many original documents in chronological order and contains brief biographies of several of the Frenchmen who concerned themselves with Indo-China. The arrangement of the book, however, makes it difficult to read. One is continually moving from original documents to the author's narrative, from the narrative to the footnotes, and from the footnotes to the bibliographies.

The work treats of the relations between France and Indo-China to the almost complete exclusion of outside events. Only brief, passing references are made to the activities of the English, the Dutch, and the Portuguese in the Far East, and little is said about events in Europe. It was, to a very large extent, these outside events which influenced—even governed—French activities in Indo-China, and more space should have been devoted to them.

P. J. HONEY.

VILLAGE LIFE IN MODERN THAILAND. By JOHN E. DE YOUNG. pp. 201, with 5 Appendices, Notes, Bibliography, Index, and 15 illustrations. Institute of East Asiatic Studies, University of California (Agent, Cambridge University Press), 1955.

This book is an account of the life of the Thai (Siamese) peasants who live in regions outside the Bangkok delta plain. Its six chapters deal with the organization of the village and its social make-up, the life-history of the individual, agricultural and economic patterns, religious beliefs and practices, and the changing scope of the villager's world, and the author has made good use of the three years he spent in research in Thailand. If one compares this report with the account I gave of peasant life in *An Asian Arcady*, published thirty years ago and dealing with the north, one can see the changes that have taken place chiefly owing, I think, to the growth of communications.

For instance, Mr. de Young quotes two examples, viz. that the northern men have given up tattooing their bodies, and that the Central Thai women have exchanged their traditional *panung* (a Siamese *dhoti*), which was worn by both sexes, for the *pasin*, a skirt worn by Northern Thai and Burmese women.

One important modern feature is the impact of Chinese immigrants on the life of the country. For many years almost all the rice-mills in Bangkok, as well as most of the crafts, have been in Chinese hands, but Chinese had not penetrated the countryside to any extent except as moneylenders in the Bangkok area. But before I left Thailand (1933) I had warned the Government of the gradual growth of small Chinese rice-mills throughout the countryside and the possible effect

on the bodily structure of the people who always ate wholemeal rice. The author states that there are still fewer than eight hundred of these mills, mostly in Central Thailand, so it appears that the movement has been stopped. He states further that there are strict laws against the owning of padi-land by the Chinese.

There are chapters dealing with the rural co-operative society system, which I spent many years helping to develop, and irrigation schemes where there is a curious omission of the work done by the band of experts who came from the Punjab and who carried out large schemes during at least twenty years of my residence.

There is a reasonably adequate bibliography, but may I invite attention to my 1932 report on "The Economic Conditions of North-Eastern Siam".

REGINALD LE MAY.

INDONESIAN TRADE AND SOCIETY. By J. C. VAN LEUR. W. van Høve, Ltd., The Hague, Bandung, 1955.

These essays, the work of a Dutch civil servant and scholar (b. 1908 ; d. 1942) killed in the Japanese war, form a volume in "Selected Studies on Indonesia", translated into English and published for the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.

The first essay handles generally the position of the Asian sea-route for world economy and for Indonesian history, before the steamship carried the mass-productions of a modern capitalism based on free labour and free markets. The adolescent exhibitionism of this thesis for the author's doctorate culminates on page 38 in a quotation that might have come straight from *Alice in Wonderland*. After that he deals briefly with the "peddling" trade of Asia, the stimulus it received from the international religion of Islam, the growth of Chinese commerce in "objects splendid and trifling", and the part played by Oriental rulers and noblemen in financing voyages and fixing tolls and monopolies. He points out later how on the arrival of the Portuguese their trade "was exceeded many times by the trade carried on by Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Javanese, Indians from Coromandel Gujarat and Malabar, and Arabs". Even in 1622, he notes, there were in Indonesian waters only some 24,000 tons of Dutch shipping against 81,000 tons of Asian. He claims that Indonesian commerce arose before the advent of Indians, and cites the abundant forms of political and social structure in Indonesia as evidence of an indigenous culture that cannot have been imported from outside. But for the prehistorian, what is "outside"? Rightly he insists that it was not traders but Brahmins who must have brought Hindu ritual, magic and ceremonial, mythical genealogies, theology and law to Indonesian courts. But he unduly decries the political influence of the Indian trader, who in Malacca at

any rate was responsible for the *coup d'état* that created its first *Sultan* and finally established Islam. Exaggerating the claims of indigenous and Hindu culture van Leur declares that "the Indonesian regime did not undergo a single change due to Islam". The last thirty pages contain a critical review of the monumental *Geschiedenis van Nederlandisch Indië*, edited by Dr. Stafel, condemning its neglect of pre-Hindu Indonesian civilization. Stimulating essays, they gave a point of view novel at the time of their original publication.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

AN UNABRIDGED MALAY-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By SIR R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt. (Oxon). pp. 359. Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Singapore, 1955. 30 sh.

Malay lexicography has a surprisingly long history. Pigafetta's glossary appeared in 1521, four Dutch-Malay dictionaries during the next century, and Thomas Bowery's, the first by an Englishman, in 1701. William Marsden's *Jawi* lexicon, published in 1812, was a standard reference work for nearly a hundred years. In this century it has been replaced hitherto by R. J. Wilkinson's two-volume work first published in 1903 and reprinted in 1932 with much new material added.

Changed circumstances giving rise to a host of Malay words unknown in Wilkinson's day made Sir Richard's task of compiling an up-to-date dictionary a formidable one. Mass literacy over large parts of the Malay-speaking world has created a flourishing vernacular press with experiments in word-making and neologisms. Foreign loan-words like *jadual*, *khidmat*, *sastera*, have gained a new currency with secular meanings. Yet modern accretions have not obscured the simple words, the oldest and commonest in the language, in whose judicious use lies its genius, and to the definition of these elusive words, like *ambil*, *pakai*, *jadi*, *baharu*, *hanya*, Sir Richard brings his customary erudition.

Careful attention is paid to the allocation of words to localities. Variant forms are noted, for instance *gajus* in Johore (and also Kelantan) by metathesis of the more usual *janggus*. Technical and occupational terms are included, e.g. *loseng* (warp) and *pakan* (woof) in weaving, two words which have puzzled scholars since Raffles put them the wrong way round in his *History of Java*. Rare and colloquial words like *lugu* and *ëmboh* are defined, some of them for the first time, correctly; *sénarai* (Kel.) is of Siamese origin.

The curious Johore and Pahang phrase *abang perëmpuan* (literally 'female elder brother') for 'royal sister' is a Chinese idiom. And the proverb under *tépok* "clapping with one hand makes no sound" is known not only to Afghan and Persian but occurs in Confucius (Ch. 28, Book VIII).

Sir Richard's ability to condense a large amount of material into a small space without loss of clarity is well-known to readers of his

Malay Grammar and other works. His new dictionary, occupying a quarter of the space taken up by Wilkinson's, is a masterpiece of careful sifting and analysis. It amply fulfils Dean Trench's requirement that a dictionary must be "an inventory of the language" and its writer "a historian, not a critic".

A. H. HILL.

INDONESIAN SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES. By B. SCHRIEKE. Part I. pp. i-vii + 1-313. W. van Hoeve, Ltd., The Hague, Bandung.

This is the first of two volumes which are to contain in English the *disjecta membra* of a scholar who was also a brilliant administrator. In his first essay "a sociologist treads in the field of history" with a study of political and economic power in the Malay archipelago in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The second is part of a Report on Communism in Sumatra in 1926, which except for some minute geographical details has still a topical and universal appeal. The third deals with the position of Chiefs and Rulers in Indonesia. Rousseau and the French revolution led Raffles, as Lt.-Governor of Java, to slight the hereditary principle and talk of "direct contact with the people", a slogan he often ignored in practice, though Holland retained it as a policy until 1854 when to safeguard peaceful exploitation she reverted to the government of the people by its own chiefs. However, the dual policies continued till under the influence of modern education the more promising of the nobility tended to turn from careers in a civil service with old traditions and take up the liberal professions. The last essay on acculturation stresses that Indonesian adoption of foreign articles and beliefs was never passive, and argues that the study of origins is therefore of secondary importance. Yet, the historian would like to know the origin of irrigating terraced rice-fields, of *batik* textiles, and of that Javanese orchestra, the *gamēlan*.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

Ceylon

EPIGRAPHIA ZEYLANICA. Being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Ceylon, edited for the Archæological Survey of Ceylon. By S. PARANAVITANA. Vol. V, Part I. Printed at the Government Press, Ceylon, 1955. pp. 176, and two pages of Corrigenda. Price Rs. 10. Postage 55 cents. 8½ in. by 11 in.

A fascicule of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, forming Vol. V, Part I, has appeared after a lapse of thirteen years. Volume IV was completed in 1954, after which its publication appears to have been temporarily suspended. The present publication, therefore, is very welcome to all interested in the ancient records of Ceylon. It contains fifteen papers, fourteen of which are by Dr. S. Paranavitana, the Archæological

Commissioner of Ceylon, and one short paper by his Assistant in Epigraphy, W. S. Karunaratne. It is proposed to examine the different articles contained in the part individually, giving comment where necessary.

No. 1, "Panākāḍuva Copper Plate Charter of Vijayabāhu I" (pp. 1-27).—The charter records the grant of an amnesty to the sons and grandsons of a chieftain, Budal, exempting them from punishment even for treason. It adds that such privileges were hereditary in Lord Budal's family. What then was the need for the grant? Could a family in any state have been immune from guilt even for treason against the sovereign? The editor says: "It may be that the statement in question is a legal fiction. If the king instituted such privileges for Budal's family for the first time, it would have amounted to raising one of his subjects above the law. To whatever extent the recipient of such favours had a claim on the king's gratitude, such an action on the part of the king might have been interpreted as setting the law aside for the benefit of individuals." The editor then tries to justify the king's action, though he has shown misgivings on the nature of the grant. He has not suspected that it was a forgery.

Who would forge the charter? Obviously Budal's sons or his grandsons were responsible. It is surprising that the grant ends with the grandsons, when ordinarily a grant endures "as long as sun and moon lasts". The anomaly goes to prove that the grandsons of Budal were the forgers. A king might grant such an amnesty in the midst of troubles, but this charter belongs to the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, when the country was at peace, and he was firmly established on the throne.

As regards palæography, Dr. Paranavitana adduces evidence that the charter is later than the time of Vijayabāhu I. "Making due allowance for the difference of material in which the writing has been executed," he says, "the script can be declared to be the same as that in the inscription of Sundara Mahādēvī from Diṁbulāgala, which is later in date by about half a century. On the other hand, the Aṁbagamuva rock-inscription, which is ten years later in date than our document, exhibits forms of letters which are relatively more archaic" (p. 2). One cannot accept the argument that "Scribes of the highlands were conservative", as this appears to be merely an attempt to explain away the palæographical evidence which militates against the genuineness of the charter in question. In the discussion of the word "ava" (p. 8) Dr. Paranavitana again provides evidence to show that the language of the charter is that of the twelfth century. A charter, if written in the eleventh century, is unlikely to have anticipated developments in language.

After King Niśśankamalla introduced the practice of granting copper charters, some descendants of Budal may have forged this charter, to

produce one of greater antiquity. In this case, the Kalinga ruler's claim to have introduced copper charters into Ceylon yet remains unchallenged. Even though the charter may be forged it has its historical and literary value, and credit is due to the editor for his discussion of language and interpretation.

In the discussion of language (p. 3) the writer might have indicated the type of Vṛttagandhi employed in the document, as Vṛttagandhi is only a generic term and there are varieties of this class of "rhythmic prose" in Sinhalese writing. Nor can one accept the suggestion that the composer of the "charter" employed just one-half of a Yāgī. The arrangement of the syllables may have been a coincidence in view of the rhythmic nature of the prose.

Coming to the interpretation, one finds it extremely difficult to agree with the epigraphist's rendering of *yahala yuvalatin ukahā . . . at-pas'hi pāmin* (A7-B(1)1) by "lifted up the yoke in both hands and showing side-ways" (p. 24). We believe that the bias is caused by Dr. Paranavitana's ideas with regard to the colossal sculpture at the Potgul-vehera of Polonnaruva (see *Artibus Asiae*, vol. xv, 1952, pp. 209-217). It is not possible, in the limited space of this review, to comment on the interpretation of such words as "yahala" (p. 24, n. 3), "vibalayen" (p. 25, n. 1), etc.

Nos. 2-3 and 4.—The fourth paper, "Interpretation of Vaharala," is based on the phrase "cidavi vaharalaya" which occurs in the texts of the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3. Dr. Paranavitana is here answering the criticism of his interpretation of "vaharala" as "slave" contained in an article published in *The Ceylon University Review* (vol. x, pp. 103-120). It would appear that this article is an abstract from a thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the London University by W. J. Wijeratne, in the year 1950. Dr. Paranavitana has adduced a large number of examples from both Pali and Sinhalese literature in his attempt to establish his translation of the phrase in question. He has also produced examples to justify his philological arguments. There are some linguistic lapses in some of the words cited, such as "killapone" and "helli" used to illustrate the disappearance of "ra". Although Dr. Paranavitana has proved that there were slaves in ancient Buddhist society, he has not established his etymology or translation of "vaharala", which yet remains to be solved.

No. 5.—It is difficult to accept his rather fanciful rendering of "jinapadasataraya" as "for the purpose of spreading antelope skins" (p. 69) and he rejects Wickremasinghe's translation of the phrase (E.Z., vol. 1, p. 71). As in the case of the "yoke", in the first article, here also one notices how our author prefers the less likely meaning to the more evident one.

No. 7.—The valuable paper on the "Chronology of Ceylon Kings—Mahāsena-Mahinda V", published as an appendix to the "Tāmgoda

Vihāra pillar inscription", provides a sound basis of dating for this period which has hitherto presented the greatest problems for chronologists not only of Ceylon history, but of the history of other Asian countries. It may be noted that the length of Kittī Sirimegha's reign is given as nineteen years in the *Sulurājāvaliya* (printed ed. 1914, p. 10), a text which is independent of the Rājāvaliyas. This shows the reliability of Sinhalese documents for certain facts in Ceylon history as against the more readily available versions of the Pali chronicles.

No. 11.—W. S. Karunaratne speaks of a "glaring mistake" made by Wickremasinghe in the reading of a word and finishes his statement with "Wickremasinghe has undoubtedly erred". The letter in question is a "ṅga" (ඟ) as against a "ha" (හ) which is said to have been correctly read by H. C. P. Bell, the archaeologist (pp. 143-4). Wickremasinghe had to read the records with poor rubbings produced by the Department of Archaeology, while the archaeologist read the letters on the spot. In the same way in interpreting a word such as "kusalān" to-day one has all references to the word from at least the card indexes of the *Sinhalese Dictionary*, although the Dictionary is not complete, and Wickremasinghe had to depend on his own knowledge of literature. One has, therefore, a right to expect some humility from beginners in Ceylon Epigraphy, when they criticize a pioneer like Wickremasinghe. In spite of all the new material and knowledge available, it is doubtful if the etymology and meaning of "kusalān" has yet been solved.

Dr. Paranavitana is sarcastic about linguists, when he uses such phrases as "the picturesque language of philologists" (p. 3). He is justified in doing this when he challenges those who take shelter behind "philology, linguistics", etc., against the evidence of written documents, but in some instances one cannot agree with his etymological findings. Is not the suggested derivation of Sinhalese *kara* "neck" from Sanskrit *krśa* "lean" very doubtful? Doubtful also are the etymologies of words like *kumbur* "field" (p. 113). So are the meaning and history of *koholāna* (p. 144). No further examples need be cited.

The production of the journal has fallen from previous standards. Even the use of diacritical marks is not consistent. On page 60 in a single Pali passage we notice *saṃgha* and *saṅgha*. The discrepancy does not occur in *Samantapāsādikā* (P.T.S. ed., p. 1001) whose text is cited here. On page 98 we have *Nikāyasaṅgraha* and on the next page *saṅgraha*. It is hoped that in future parts the traditional standard of this valuable journal will be maintained. The editor deserves the congratulations of those interested in Ceylon epigraphy and allied subjects for the vast volume of material published in a single part.

SECRET MINUTES OF THE DUTCH POLITICAL COUNCIL, 1762. Edited and translated by J. H. O. PAULUSZ. pp. 349. Government Press, Ceylon, 1954.

The minutes of the Dutch Political Council in Ceylon which extend from 1640 to 1796 are in the main the usual records of a trading company. Mr. Paulusz, the Ceylon Government archivist, proposes to provide us with the Dutch text and English translation of the secret minutes relating to the years 1762-6. This period embraces the Dutch war with the King of Kandy, the English mission under Pybus to the Kandyan court, the campaigns of Governor van Eck, and the negotiations leading up to the Treaty of 1766. It cannot be said that the minutes for 1762 contain any striking revelations tending to overthrow accepted judgments.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

India and Pakistan

THE LIFE OF MIR JUMLA. By JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR. With a Foreword by Sir JADUNATH SARKAR. pp. xxvi + 337. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta, 1951. Rs. 12.

Mir Jumla, a Persian adventurer who became one of the greatest officers of the Mughal Empire, has been referred to in every study of the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, but this is probably the first monograph devoted solely to his career.

The author has had the advantage of the guidance and library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest authority on the period. Bringing unpublished manuscript material to bear on his subject, he has produced a work which, in its thoroughness and scholarship, may take its place beside the works of his master. Incidentally, Dr. Sarkar throws much new light on the events of the period, notably on the expansion of the sultanate of Golkunda in the Karnātak, and on the politics of the early years of Aurangzeb's reign. Many new details are added to the military history of the time, and Mir Jumla's relations with the European traders are elucidated. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says: "The present author has used the microscope where I had to apply the telescope."

Though Dr. Sarkar treats the public life of his hero so exhaustively, the man himself, as distinct from the politician and soldier, hardly comes alive. Mir Jumla was a humble Persian trader, who grew rich from the diamond mines of Golkunda and rose to be the most forceful figure in Indian politics. A Muslim, in command of a Muslim army fighting for a fanatically Muslim emperor, he is said to have inflicted very painful and humiliating punishment on those of his troops who looted so much as a bunch of bananas from the Hindu peasants in the

territory he conquered. Thomas Bowrey wrote of him that he was "very charitable and a real lover of the English nation, all in general (that ever knew him) were enamoured (*sic*) with his perfections" (quoted p. 285). Yet he was prone to "opportunism, secretiveness and duplicity" (p. 288). Surely such a man is worthy of a more detailed study *as a person* than the bare three pages which Dr. Sarkar has entitled "Mir Jumla as a Man" (pp. 284-7).

A. L. BASHAM.

NĀNĀRTHARATNAMĀLĀ OF IRUGAPA DANDĀDHINĀTHA. Edited by BELLIKOTH RAMACHANDRA SHARMA. Deccan College, Poona, 1954. pp. vi + 279. [*Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography*, 8.]

NĀNĀRTHAMAŅJARI OF RĀGHAVA. Edited by K. V. KRISHNAMOORTHY SHARMA. Deccan College, Poona, 1954. pp. viii + 252. [*Sources of Indo-Aryan Lexicography*, 9.]

As part of the preliminary work for the new Sanskrit Thesaurus the Deccan College is engaged in publishing a series of all the unpublished lexica which are to be found in the manuscript collections. This useful work is proceeding rapidly, with the eighth and ninth volumes of the series now appearing, and many other volumes are in the course of active preparation. The next stage will be the compiling of a dictionary based on all the old lexica which will form one of the main bases of the contemplated thesaurus. By this means the critical study of the lexicographical tradition will be placed on a sound basis. In the course of centuries a variety of erroneous forms and ghost words have come to be incorporated, and their detection will be facilitated when the publication and indexing of all these works is complete. As an instance of the kind of thing which is always happening we may note the word *naraka-* given by Raghava in the sense of liquor-cup, because either he or one of his predecessors has misread the word *saraka-* which is in common use in this sense. Both authors are southerners and Rāghava, in accordance with southern usage, admits *l* as a Sanskrit letter. This is sometimes etymologically justified (*mahilā*) but by no means always; in the latter cases (*maṅgala-*, etc.) the same feature can be observed in Kanarese loanwords.

T. BURROW.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By SURINDRANATH DASGUPTA. Cambridge University Press, 1955. pp. xii + 204.

The fifth and final volume of S. Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* contains all that he was able to finish before his death in 1952. According to the original plan the volume was to contain (1) Southern Schools of Śaivism, (2) Northern Schools of Śaivism,

(3) Philosophy of Grammar, (4) Philosophy of some of the selected Tantras. Of this the first portion was completed and constitutes the present volume.

The material for the study of Southern Śaivism is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil. Apart from a few short sections the latter is excluded from consideration here, as it was outside the plan of the main work to include any material other than the Sanskrit. The texts on which the present study is based consist of several sorts. In the first place there are the Śaiva Āgamas, Sanskrit treatises of dubious age, which, though primarily devoted to ritual, contain some sections of a philosophical character. There are also some purāṇa works of which the most important is the *Vāyaviya-saṃhitā* of the Śiva Mahāpurāṇa. The *Pāśupata-sūtra* contains a detailed exposition of the doctrine of one sect of Śaivas but neither it nor its commentary can be anything like as old as is claimed here. A useful summary by Bhoja (*Tattvapraśāsa*), together with one published and one unpublished commentary is examined, though it may be doubted whether this author is to be assigned specifically to the Southern tradition. Finally there are two commentaries on the Brahmasūtra (Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīpati) in which that work is interpreted in the interests of the Śaiva religion.

Though the religion is ancient there is no philosophy proper associated with Śaivism until a late period, and then the older systems are largely drawn on. As the author remarks, "the fundamental facts of Śaivism are composed of Vedantic monism and Sāṃkhya, and sometimes the Nyāya doctrines have also been utilized." The most influential and consistent efforts to adapt philosophy to the Śaiva religion, namely those of the Kashmir school and of the Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta, are for the reasons stated above not treated in this volume. On these aspects there already exist adequate treatises. On the other hand, what is treated in this volume is mainly being dealt with for the first time, so the work will be exceedingly useful in supplementing the information which is available elsewhere.

T. BURROW.

ŚILĀṆKA'S CAUPPAṆṆAMAHĀPURISACARIYA : Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Jaina-Universalgeschichte. By VON KLAUS BRUHN. pp. ix + 153. Hamburg, 1954.

This volume, the eighth in the Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien series, is a summary of the contents of Śilāṅka's *Cauppaṇṇamahāpurisacariya*, the text of which has not yet been published, and an attempt to assess its value and importance.

Despite the difference in the titles, which arises from the earlier Jaina writers not counting the nine Prati-Vāsudevas separately among the mahāpurisas, this work does in fact deal with the same great heroes

as are well known from Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśālākāpuruṣacaritra*. Its contribution to the study of Jaina Universalgeschichte lies not only in the fact that it was written in A.D. 868, and so being earlier than Hemacandra may well have been one of the sources used by him, but also in that it shows a stage in the development whereby the brief references to many of these Jaina heroes in the canonical texts were expanded into the detailed accounts found in later writers.

The importance of the work is not confined to its literary value, for from the description of the style and grammar, and from the notes appended to the brief extracts from the *Māhārāṣṭri* Prakrit original, it is clear that this text is also of great interest to the philologist, since it includes forms not quoted in Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, and words or meanings not attested in our dictionaries. Students of Prakrit await the publication of the full text of the *Cauppanṇamahā-purīṣacariya*.

K. R. NORMAN.

SELECTIONS FROM UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE OF THE JUDGE-MAGISTRATE AND THE JUDGE OF PATNA, 1790-1857. Edited with an Introduction by K. K. DATTA. pp. ii + iii + 422. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar, 1954. Rs. 5.

These documents from the Record Room of the District Judge of Patna show how various were the duties of the Judge and Magistrate—ranging from the care of visiting notabilities like the Raja of Tanjore to the supervision of the local lunatic asylum. Such a wealth of material covering more than half a century must have presented formidable problems of selection. Some readers may regret the omission of certain documents. It is, for example, disappointing to be given a detailed inquiry about *satis* which was addressed to the Magistrate in 1818 but not to have his reply. On the other hand, some of the documents printed are of a purely formal nature and might well have been omitted. But in general this book affords considerable insight into the methodical and conscientious, if somewhat slow and unimaginative, ways in which John Company did his business. Not entirely unimaginative, however. When the government was telling the Magistrate not to interfere with the working of a free market during a shortage of grain, human sympathy suddenly breaks through the official language of *laissez-faire*: "The Vice-President in Council desires me to add that it is far from his intention that the Magistrates should harshly or coldly repel the applications of the suffering community. Although it is beyond the power of the Government or the public authorities to remedy the unfortunate dearth of grain, the Vice President in Council is yet of opinion that attention of the Magistrates may effect much to soften the distress and calm the irritation of the people. By

manifesting a sympathy in their sufferings, by a humane, patient and indulgent hearing of their complaints, by encouraging them to look forward to the approaching harvest, their confidence may be won and they may be persuaded to bear with resignation the inevitable calamities under which they labour."

K. A. BALLHATCHET.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT NASIK AND JORWE (1950-51). By H. D. SANKALIA and S. B. DEO. Poona, 1955. pp. xx + 178, 36 plates, 10 maps and plans, 55 figures.

This is the report on excavations carried out at two sites in Maharashtra, on the outskirts of Nasik, and at Jorwe, some fifty miles south-east. The work seems to have been carefully done and the illustrations are quite adequate. The text, however, sometimes lacks clarity and concision, and the technological description is at times unsatisfactory.

The site at Nasik was unusually fruitful and produced evidence of five periods of occupation. Period I was chalcolithic with clear affinities to the neolithic of the N. Karnataka region. Period IIA marked the beginning of Early Historic settlement and was signalized by the appearance of "Northern Black Polished" ware and Red-and-black Burnished ("Megalithic") ware. IIB yielded two cast copper coins and two sherds of pottery said to resemble the "Andhra" painted ware of Chandravalli, etc. The third period produced sherds of "red polished" and "rouletted" wares and is equated with a time of Roman contact, whilst period IV is said to cover the early Muslim-Mughal-Maratha times. The hiatus and the compression of the last period into so thin a deposit are not satisfactorily explained.

The excavators propose the following dates for the crucial period II: c. 400-200 B.C. for IIA and c. 200 B.C.-A.D. 50 for IIB. In considering these dates several points are noteworthy. IIA produced a pair of iron caltrops, otherwise known in India only at Sisupalgarh where they are dated some five centuries later. It also produced legged grinding stools with one projecting end. These stools seem to have had a fairly short-lived popularity in India and to have spread widely. Their earliest reported occurrence at Taxila is in Sirkap II where all three examples were of Mathura sandstone. Another interesting example is depicted on the east gateway of the great stupa at Sanchi. Also from IIA is the copper object No. 481 which appears to have been unsatisfactorily identified. It is perhaps one of an interesting group of unguent vessels known at several other sites. The nearest parallels for this specimen are at Taxila (Bhir mound II). The occurrence of these objects in period IIA is perplexing as all would have been happier in IIB or even III.

Jorwe produced evidence of only one, chalcolithic, culture-period. The painted pottery is closely linked with that of Nasik. Particularly notable are six flat rectangular axes which are described as "bronze". One has been analysed and found to contain 98.4 per cent of copper and only 1.78 per cent of tin. It is admitted that the tin content scarcely indicates intentional addition, and in view of this it would perhaps be better to describe the axes as copper.

F. R. ALLCHIN.

ÁSOKA, KAISER UND MISSIONAR. By FRITZ KERN. Edited by WILLIBALD KIRFEL. pp. 208, 4 plates. Bern, Franke Verlag, 1956. Sw. fr. 14.

Fritz Kern, who, during his long professorship at Bonn, wrote on many aspects of history and the philosophy of history, left, when he died in 1950, this work, the result of many years of thought and study; it has now been published, edited by his friend and colleague, Professor Kirfel. Though the manuscript was apparently fully annotated and corrected, perhaps, as the editor surmises, it was the author's intention to add a final chapter, for the second part of the work, entitled *Asokas Platz in der Weltgeschichte*, says very little about Ásoka, but traces the development of Indian religious thought down to Ásoka's time, leaving the reader with a feeling of incompleteness, or rather of two independent studies, that need a third to link them together.

Professor Kern's chief interest in ancient India was evidently religious, and it is with the religious, philosophical, and ethical aspects of Ásoka's reforms that he is most concerned. His study of the inscriptions, which he translates in full in the first part of his book, throws little new light on the political aspects of Ásoka's reign, but dwells on his piety, benevolence, and religious policy. Kern tends rather to emphasize Ásoka's religiosity even more strongly than most authorities, so that a well-known passage in the First Kalinga Edict, generally taken to refer to individuals suffering imprisonment, is very questionably interpreted as applying to those in the bondage of worldly life (p. 46); an interpretation, anticipated by Prinsep, the first translator of the edicts (n. 66). Professor Kern makes much of the influence of the mystical ideal of the *cakravartin* upon Ásoka, and at one place suggests that Ásoka looked upon himself as a precursor of the future Buddha Maitreya (pp. 34-5). In fact, it is doubtful if the concept of the *cakravartin* existed in Ásoka's day; it may well be that the reign of Ásoka himself did much to inspire its development. And it is very unlikely that the figure of Maitreya had appeared in the pantheon of Buddhism at the time.

This book gives a rather one-sided view of Ásoka, and though of

value, it is by no means adequate as a complete study of the great emperor's life and reign. It does not live up to its title, for it is only Asoka the *Missionar* who receives adequate treatment. A really satisfactory monograph on Asoka the *Kaiser* has yet to be written.

A. L. BASHAM.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN. Edited by S. M. IKRAM and PERCIVAL SPEAR. Oxford University Press. London: Cumberlege, 1956. pp. vii + 204.

A great void opens where books on the cultural heritage of Pakistanis ought to exist; it is therefore a pleasant task to welcome this collection of essays, prepared under the aegis of the Department of Advertising, Films, and Publications of the Government of Pakistan. The work is presumably intended for the general reader and doubtless its editors would not claim that it is more than an aperitif. It does not altogether escape the tendency of first attempts at cultural history to be catalogues of names separated by eulogies.

Mr. Ikram reasonably claims that "Pakistan is . . . in its very nature an heir to all the cultural traditions and achievements of Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent" and that "the cultural heritage of Pakistan cannot, therefore, be limited to what flowered within its geographical boundaries, and has to contain within its scope all that was noble and beautiful in Muslim India". Essays are included on architecture, archæology, music, painting, Muslim calligraphy, the Persian literary heritage, Urdu literature, the regional literatures, the spiritual heritage, and modern intellectual developments among Muslims. The last essay does not quite succeed in clarifying the precise relations between Sir Muhammad Iqbal's thought and the intellectual climate of Pakistan to-day.

Surely it is cultural chauvinism to include the Indus Valley civilization in the cultural heritage of Pakistan. This is to reduce cultural history to collecting any dead wood found lying around in one's back yard. Until it can be shown precisely how the Indus Valley civilization has contributed to the specific forms of Muslim culture in "South Asia", not all Sir Mortimer Wheeler's great authority will convince that there have been "Five Thousand Years of Pakistan".

Full justice is not done to the Muslim heritage of historical writing, both in Persian and in English and Urdu since Sir Saiyid Ahmad's day.

The essay devoted to Pakistan's spiritual heritage is regrettably brief. It tends to minimize the significance of the ulama as guardians of Muslim religious purity and its hints at the importance of Shah Wali-ullah are more tantalizing than informative.

There is no bibliography and the footnote references would have

been more valuable had they always included the place and date of publication of citations.

P. HARDY.

VILLAGE INDIA: STUDIES IN THE LITTLE COMMUNITY. Edited by
McKIM MARRIOTT. pp. xviii + 269. University of Chicago Press,
1955.

Before the war few professional social anthropologists studied India, and all of them—both Indian and European—worked among aboriginal peoples. Since the war there have been greater opportunities for field-work in India, and interest now is directed rather towards the non-aboriginal population. The reasons for this are complex, and partly derive from the new government and its welfare activities. The new interest springs also from a change in the methods of contemporary social anthropology. The attraction of the tribes lay in their theoretical simplicity: they were—or so one could assume—worlds in themselves, uncomplicated, comprehensible, and offering problems which did not lead the investigator into the difficulties of “civilization”, whether this was the Hindu civilization or the Western civilization of the administrator and the world economy. Those who contributed to *Village India* have chosen to face just this problem: the relation of the small community to the “great community”, and the degree to which an understanding of one contributes to our knowledge of the other.

Village India contains eight essays by different authors and an introduction by Professor Robert Redfield, whose book *The Little Community* (Chicago, 1955) offered a theoretical outline to the problem.

Professor Srinivas discusses a village in Mysore, and describes the factors which make for cohesion and integration. There is a striking contrast between this essay and the one following, in which Dr. Gough demonstrates that national policies and the wider economy are breaking down the authority of Brahmin landlords in a village in Tanjore. Professor Srinivas discusses the village as if it were isolated. Dr. Gough, implicitly, says that it can be isolated for study. Much the same approach is made by Dr. Beals, in his account of urban influence in a village near Bangalore, and by Dr. Cohn who describes the conflict between Untouchables and the high castes in a village in Uttar Pradesh. The focus is on the village. Some events in the village can only be understood when the village is seen as part of a larger social system. But, so far, there is no attempt to discuss explicitly the way in which village studies help us to understand this larger system.

Dr. Lewis, in contrasting peasant culture in Mexico with that in Delhi District, studies not so much the village as the rural community as a whole, and the relation of this community to the State. Dr. Marriott's essay (about a village in Uttar Pradesh) is a lucid exposition of the mutual effect of village and State upon one another, and of the

relation of village Hinduism to classical Hinduism. These two essays (particularly the latter, which deserves a review in itself) come nearest to showing how village studies can also be studies in a larger social system.

There is an interesting analysis by Mrs. Steed of the personality of a Rajput landlord, reacting to "landlord abolition". In the final essay, Professor Mandelbaum describes the world-view of the Kota, a Nilgiri tribe, and suggests that an understanding of the larger society may be got through this concept of "world-outlook".

The importance of this book does not lie only in its discussion of anthropological method. Taken together the essays give an extensive and detailed picture of what is going on in India to-day: economic change, breakdown and conflict in the caste system, the emergence of class, the spread of Hindu culture downwards through the caste system, and so forth. The book, therefore, will interest not only anthropologists but also those who know and have known India and Indian villages.

The production of the book is perfect. It has a full index. The only small fault is that the photograph facing page 44 seems to have nothing to do with the text.

F. G. BAILEY.

GHANAŚYĀMA'S ĀNANDASUNDARĪ (A *Śaṭṭaka*, or Drama in Prakrit).

With Sanskrit Commentary of Bhaṭṭanātha. Critically ed. for the first time with various Readings, Introduction, Notes, etc., by Professor A. N. UPADHYE, M.A., D.Litt. Motilal Banarasidass. Banaras, 1955. pp. 22 + 104. Rs. 5/-.

This text is another of the later Southern Prakrit texts, which Professor Upadhye has introduced to Indianists. They are conventional both in form and matter, but contain original features not found in the standard models. The Kamsavaho of Rāma Pānivāda, for instance, makes free use of the peculiar Dravidian head-rhyme (*prāsa*). The present text is noteworthy for the numerous Marathicisms, which include Kannaḍa words now not to be found in Marathi.

The author Ghanasyāma, as Professor Upadhye tells us, in a well-documented introduction, was born in A.D. 1700 and in 1729 became a minister of Tukkoji in Tanjore. His output was large as he wrote in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and in vernacular. His Prakrit is the Śaurasenī-Mahārāṣṭri idiom as found in "uncorrected" manuscripts of the Karpūramāñjarī.

The play is a *śaṭṭaka*, the etymology of which is shrouded in mystery. Professor Upadhye has discussed the question in the Introduction to his *Camdāleha*. A *śaṭṭaka* is a Prakrit play, consisting of four *javaniantara* (curtain-intervals), which Keith (*Sanskrit Drama*, p. 350)

takes to mean a form of dance. Ghanaśyāma in this play asserts that a *garbha-nāṭaka* is essential to a *saṭṭaka*, but he does not identify it with *javaṇiantara*. The origin and meaning of the *garbha-nāṭaka* which is obviously connected with the Gujarati *garabo* (*sic*), are not discussed by the author. The plot of the Anandasundarī is basically that of the Karpūramanjari, but the treatment is original.

Professor Upadhye has used two manuscripts, a good short version and an inferior long version, both undated. He did not see the I.O. Manuscript, which, however, he mentions. This is written in Grantha and dated Išvara in the Jovian Cycle (A.D. 1757), thirty-five years after the date of composition. It contains all the passages, which Professor Upadhye has reproduced with corrections from his longer version T. It says much for the editor's scholarship that the differences between his version and the I.O. text are rarely important.

Bhaṭṭanātha's Sanskrit commentary, which follows the text with page references, is something more than a chāyā and is very useful. There are ten pages of notes, all too brief.

ALFRED MASTER.

A HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE FALL OF VIJAYANAGAR. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. pp. xxi + 475 + (index) 8, 29 plates. Oxford University Press (London : Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1955. Price 21s.

THE CŌḢAS. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. pp. xvi + 769 + (index) 41, 37 plates. University of Madras, 1955. Price Rs. 15.

The doyen of Indian historians gives us here a much-needed revised version of his celebrated *CōḢas* and, in the *History*, an important pioneer attempt at a comprehensive study of the much-neglected "South". While the latter is more praiseworthy for its novelty and will meet a wider demand, the former remains technically the more successful.

The *History* utilizes even unpublished researches and is a very impressive achievement. With the aid of specialist assistance the author produces excellent passages on pre-history and on Tamil and Telugu literature, superior to those on geography and Sanskrit literature. No thesis is maintained, the tone is even and objective, saving occasional (? unconscious) sarcasms at the expense of non-Hindus ; yet the book will certainly interest students of twentieth-century Indian historiography. The huge task of digesting the vast yet skeletal remains of dynastic histories has been achieved with marvellous compression, and though many improvements will be made in detail such a panoramic view cannot be attempted again except by a giant. The lack of documentation will impede neither the general reader nor the budding

specialist, whose researches will be encouraged and illuminated. Even existing monographs acquire a new meaning. Reproduction of the Tanjore frescoes is particularly welcome since the originals are not shown to tourists.

The effort has been at some cost. The assumed homogeneity of "the South" never existed (cf. the position of queens in the various courts): the picture can never be one intelligible whole. Facts are crammed; conjecture and knowledge are confounded; scrupulous accuracy is placed second; erroneous as well as misleading statements occur and even an occasional self-contradiction; some obscurities are not explained; the index is inadequate; diacritical marks are approximations and the list of *errata* is not exhaustive. In anticipation of a second edition attention must be drawn to some details. Kampili-dēva (p. 220) and Dvārasamudra are wrong forms; Waṣṣāf and the doctrines of the Ājivikas deserve mention; amid the scandalous paucity of published Kannaḍa classics the published *Lōkōpakāra* might be mentioned; the King can own *khāṣ*, and yet be the *svāmi* of the soil (p. 157); "Magadai" (p. 206) = the Bāṇa; the "Five Pāṇḍyas" (p. 207) is a conventional title; *gāmuṇḍa* (p. 158) = *gāvunḍa* (p. 319), hereditary headman. The Cālukya *dvārapālaka* is now in the Tanjore museum. There is no evidence that Bhīllama was killed in 1191 (p. 190), or the Hoysala Somēśvara in 1262 (p. 206); that the latter "led an expedition" to Pandharpur (p. 208-9), or that Ballāla III *conquered* Tuluva (p. 230). Was not Vīra Pāṇḍya (p. 208) *illegitimate*? One must distinguish Saṅgama (?) (p. 218) successor of Rāma(candra)-dēva from the father of Harihara and Bukka (p. 227). Karṇāṭaka on p. 291 is not the real Karṇāṭaka! We know that Tamil, Marāṭhī and Prākṛit were taught in endowed schools in Kuntala (denied on p. 308). One (Sakala)-vidyā-cakravartī was patronized by many rulers besides the Hoysala (p. 335). Aparārka was nearly a century earlier (p. 345) than Varadarāja. The true authorship of "Pratāparudra's" *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* (ibid.) is known. Many would not believe in Firūz's strolling players or Dēvarāya's goldsmith's daughter. Was the religious factor really important in the Bahmani-Vijayanagara duel; and was not Udiyañ-jēral's Kurukṣetra (p. 113) like the Battle of the Boyne?

The *History*, as also the *Cōlas*, emphasizes what we do *not* know about South India's past. We may doubt whether we should feel at home with any ancient South Indian, yet their intriguing psychological complexions are hardly more than hinted at by Professor Sastri, who mentions in passing their "silly legends", post-mortuary stabbings, and various maniacal suicides. Further research has here an open field.

In the *Cōlas* we expect the highest standard, and the author does not disappoint us. Where a fact is knowable no one knows it better, and in the other cases, which are numerous, his guess is rather better than any one else's. Other versions of the events, e.g. of the thirteenth

century, and even of the genealogical tree, will be written—but a better book on the dynasty will not appear in this century.

J. D. M. DERRETT.

GRAMMAR OF PASHTO. By HERBERT PENZL. pp. vi + 169. American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C., 1955. \$2.

Almost thirty years have passed since Morgenstierne pointed out the need for descriptions of Pashto dialects with a single form of speech as a basis. The first of these, this "descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar", is all the more welcome for its late appearance. The writer combines his description of the one dialect with appropriate references to other types of Pashto and to indigenous grammatical works.

The phonetic description and the notes on stress and pitch are excellent. The detailed treatment of the irregularities of substantive forms is particularly useful. The writer's preoccupation with descriptive technique, however, leads to some needless complications, e.g. § 82.2a saying that *dey*, *de* (*dai*, *da*) "is" have "past endings". It would have made for clarity to discuss the modal particle *ba* in conjunction with the category of aspect in such a way as to show the full possible range of tense forms (cf. Morgenstierne, *NTS.*, 12, p. 107).

Pashto has probably suffered more than any other Iranian language from the transcriptions of different writers. That a linguist should now choose to give us, e.g. *dzhooréezza* for *žoréz/ža* is unfortunate. One is reminded of Elphinstone's century-old *wōōroodzēē* for *wrūji*. Perhaps the preference for this transcription has led the writer, §§ 22, 23, to produce only negative arguments against the monophonemic status of *c*, *č*, *j*, and *ǰ*. The only comparable cluster is *ps* and this behaves very differently to the dental group. Unlike *ts*, etc., it can appear divided between two syllables, e.g. *ap-sos*, and can undergo metathesis, e.g. *psarlai*, *sparlai*. More cogently, there are no final clusters of three consonants in Pashto. The two-consonant clusters which occur finally, such as *-rš*, *-št*, *-nd*, *-ng*, point the obvious parallelism with *-rǰ*, *-nj*, *-nj*. This matter of transcription mars a book otherwise most valuable for learner and linguist alike.

D. N. MacKENZIE.

LE YOGA, IMMORTALITÉ ET LIBERTÉ. By MIRCEA ÉLIADÉ. pp. 427. Payot, Paris, 1954.

This compendious volume treats of Indian Yoga both in its traditional and popular forms. It is fully documented with appendices, notes, and bibliographies and M. Éliadé is undoubtedly conversant with all published material remotely relevant to his subject. With such an

invaluable work of reference no one interested in any aspect of Indian religion can dispense. Although most of this relevant material is relegated to appendices, perhaps rather too much intrudes into the main text, to the consequent bewilderment of the reader, who may not always grasp the intended association of ideas. This occurs especially in the last three chapters, which are concerned more closely with "popular" forms of yoga. In seeking their origin, M. Éliade is sometimes led into very deep jungles. He portrays all too well the extraordinary complexity of religious practice in India, but in view of his intention (expressed in the preface) of assisting westerners towards a deeper understanding of the Indian solution of the common problem of our existence, it would have been better to have kept to a straightforward thesis.

The first five chapters on the traditional forms of yoga are well co-ordinated with penetrating observations and valuable interpretations. Thus the author draws attention to the connection between the paradoxical theory of Sāṃkhya philosophy on the relation of soul and matter and the psychological fact that the yogin is both "bound" and "released" by his *experiences* (p. 53). On the technique of breath-control (p. 67 ff.), the "states of conscience" proper to sleep, the significance of posture of meditation (p. 79), he writes clearly and succinctly. Even so there intrudes a section on similar practices outside India (pp. 71-8), which might have been given more concisely in a footnote. One may mention with approbation a discussion of "miraculous powers" (p. 97 ff.), that notes the popular confusion between a perfected yogin and a magician (pp. 100, 293, 294, and 337).

In the last three chapters we simply have a résumé of a great deal of information about tantric practice, alchemy and aboriginal beliefs, and the connection with yoga is not always obvious. Thus all the material in the chapter "Le Yoga et le Tantrisme" is relevant, but the author fails to show how it was co-ordinated as a form of internal yoga. He observes that the four buddha-bodies (*nirmāṇa-kāya*, etc.) are equated with the four *cakra*, which are envisaged within the body of the meditating yogin, but no conclusion is drawn. Nor is it finally made clear that the "conjunction of opposites" *par excellence* occurs also within the yogin. So, too, in the chapter on Aboriginal India it is not explained that the *pīṭha* (places of pilgrimage) are forced into equation with thirty-two veins within the yogin's body. In short much material is admitted that is only of interest to the main thesis if shown to serve the practice of yoga in one form or another. M. Éliade's very real knowledge of rites and myths intrudes rather too much. There is no immediate connection between the Indian rope-trick and the Tibetan practice of *gcod* (pp. 319-322). Also is it true that the ascension into heaven by means of a ladder or a rope is a common motif in Tibet? (p. 326). The descent of the rope and the ladder certainly belong to

the early Tibetan notion of divine kingship, but this introduces rather different ideas. Is it true that one of the intentions of the Tibetan monastic dances (*cham*) is to familiarize spectators with the fearful apparitions that appear to the dead (*bar-do*)? (p. 322). The main divinities of the *bar-do* are the five buddhas (*pañcatathāgata*) in their gentle and fierce forms, and these never demean themselves even by religious dancing. Nor is it surprising (p. 358) that the experiences described in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead* (*Bar-do thös-sgrol*) correspond with the practices of tantric meditation, for all the divinities listed in that work are tantric Buddhist and of Indian origin.

I hope M. Éliade will not take my strictures amiss, for this book is of great value and it errs only in attempting to embrace too much.

D. L. SNELLGROVE.

STUDIES IN URDU LITERATURE. By FAZL MAHMUD ASIRI (Visvabharat Studies, 19). pp. iii + 146 + vii. Santiniketan, 1954.

The contents of this book are not what the title leads one to expect. In fact there are only three studies in Urdu literature, occupying in all about half the book. The first, purporting to be a survey of Urdu literature as a whole, contains many false and misleading statements; the third is an extensive summary of Iqbal's *Javed Nama*; neither contains anything which has not been treated much better in other available English works. The second, on Ghalib, is a somewhat fuller treatment than any now available in English, but is unfortunately quite superficial, and the English renderings of his poems cannot fail to give a very poor impression of one who is in fact a very great poet. The second half of the book is undoubtedly more valuable than the first; it comprises three essays on Shah Wali Ullah, the religious reformer. The first argues the authenticity of a disputed work, the third gives an interesting though brief account of his political views, and the second is a translation (rather faulty in parts) of an essay by Shah Wali Ullah himself on a controversial point of philosophy.

RALPH RUSSELL.

Buddhism

THE ŚĀRDŪLAKARṆĀVADĀNA. Edited by SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA. pp. xvi + 243. Santiniketan, 1954. Rs. 10.

The *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* is interesting as one of the more important Buddhist texts dealing with criticism of the caste system. The story of a *caṇḍāla* girl's attempt to make Ānanda her husband with the help of her mother's magical powers, the defeating of this design by the Buddha, and her ultimate entry into the order leads to a former-birth story in which Trisaṅku, chief of an outcast tribe approaches the

Brahman Puṣkarasārin with a proposal that their respective children, Śārdulakarna and Prakṛti, should be married. The indignant protestations with which the Brahman meets this proposal are answered by a series of arguments aimed at the principal of caste, and this is followed by Trisāṅku displaying his knowledge of the Veda and its schools and similar matters usually considered the exclusive sphere of the Brahmins. In the end Puṣkarasārin is persuaded by these arguments and consents to the union.

Such was the original *avadāna* and to this extent it was published in the original edition of the *Divyāvadāna* by Cowell and Neill. But the manuscripts contain a great deal more, since Trisāṅku's display of knowledge provided a pretext for adding on a mass of additional and irrelevant material treating first of astronomy, then of astrology, and finally of all kinds of divination, palmistry, etc. A considerable part of this extra material appears also in the Tibetan and Chinese versions, and so is fairly old, but the later chapters of it appear only in the Sanskrit manuscripts, an indication that they were only added at a later date.

The omission of this part of the work from the *Divyāvadāna* edition was due to the unsatisfactory nature of the manuscript material. With the help of the Chinese and Tibetan versions the present editor has now been able to make good this omission and the text is presented in its complete form. The result is a very creditable performance, since the text is full of difficulties and problems. It is not only a question of textual corruption, since the text abounds in obscure words and phrases which make it worthy of attention by the lexicographers. It is clear that the difficulties which face the modern editor were felt by the ancient translators, since difficult words and sentences are frequently omitted in these translations. As far as is possible the editor has overcome the difficulties and provided a text as satisfactory as can be expected under the circumstances. The proposed second volume which will contain an exhaustive study and discussion of the text will be very welcome.

T. BURROW.

LES VIES ANTÉRIEURES DU BOUDDHA. By ALFRED FOUCHER.
pp. viii + 370. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1955.
1,200 fr.

A great authority on early Indian art has here retold the Jātaka stories with such charm, sympathy, and humour that the reader can hardly believe the words appended to the author's name, which conclude the brief and graceful preface to the book—*Anno aetatis suae*, 87.

After a well-written and informative introduction the author tells all the more interesting and important Jātaka stories, arranging them in

a quasi-evolutionary order, beginning with those fables of which the characters are all animals, thence passing to those which bring animals into relation with human beings, and ending with those stories in which the Bodhisattva appears as a man. The whole concludes with a fable by an Indian friend of the author, Sumantra Lokeshwar, extolling the virtue of *ahimsā*. The stories are illustrated by delightful drawings by Dr. Jeannine Auboyer, based on ancient Indian models.

The book is intended for the general reader, but it is the product of mature scholarship and a very fitting conclusion to the life-work of a great authority, who profoundly loved and respected the art and culture he knew so well.

A. L. BASHAM.

Art and Archaeology

SCULPTURES FROM AMARĀVATĪ IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By DOUGLAS BARRETT. pp. x + 76, 48 plates, map. London : British Museum, 1954. 21s.

The wonderful sculptures studied in this volume are well known to every lover of Indian art and, in the words of Mr. Basil Gray in his foreword, "rank with the Elgin Marbles and the Assyrian reliefs among the great possessions of the Museum." Despite their fame and importance, this is the first official monograph on them. Forty-eight plates of splendid photographs by Mr. Jack Skeel do full justice to these lovely reliefs, and carefully arranged lighting has brought out their true depth and richness.

But the work is much more than a mere illustrated catalogue, and the sixty pages of introductory matter by Mr. Barrett form a major contribution to the history of Indian architecture and art. The author had the advantage of a special visit to India in 1951-52, in the course of which he made a thorough study of the site of the Stūpa and of the remains in Madras Museum, as well as of kindred sites and sculptures. Hence he shows a thorough mastery of his subject, about which he writes with evident affection.

Mr. Barrett's first chapter, on the early history of the Deccan, is a clear and scholarly outline of the obscure history of the Sātavāhana Empire, taking into full account all the evidence, both literary and archaeological. In it he makes a very strong case for what he calls the "short chronology", dating the rise of the dynasty in the first century B.C., as against the "long chronology", which prefers a date at least a century earlier, and which is still supported by several eminent Indian scholars. This chapter is followed by one entitled "The Discovery of the Amarāvati Stūpa", which tells the history of the sculptures during the last century, until, after many peregrinations and much unpardonable neglect, they found an honoured place in the British Museum.

The chapter on the form of the Stūpa attempts a reconstruction of the original monument, which has long since disappeared. Here Mr. Barrett gives weighty arguments against the reconstruction proposed by the late Percy Brown, who, relying on the representations of the Stūpa on the sculptured slabs which once surrounded it, suggested that its dome was set on a high drum. Mr. Barrett shows that the drum was actually much lower, and that the Stūpa, despite its great size, was actually somewhat less tall and imposing than Brown believed.

In his chapter on the chronology of the sculpture Mr. Barrett argues in favour of a comparatively late date even for the early phase of Amarāvati art, which, he maintains, presupposes the art of Sāncī. He would place all three phases of Amarāvati sculpture within the dates A.D. 125 and 240. The late date given for the commencement of the school is largely based on the fact that we have no sound evidence of Sātavāhana rule in the region of Andhradeśa before the reign of Pulumāvi, in the second quarter of the second century A.D.; Mr. Barrett believes that the carvings could not have been made under the patronage of the unknown petty kings who preceded Pulumāvi in Andhradeśa. The argument is a strong one, but not absolutely conclusive, though, with the aid of several further indications, Mr. Barrett makes a very good case for his theory. His work concludes with an appendix on the Buddha image at Amarāvati, which appeared during the middle phase of the school, and with a full catalogue of all pieces of Amarāvati sculpture in the Museum.

A. L. BASHAM.

THE EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA. By HERMANN GOETZ.
Memoirs of the Kern Institute, I. pp. xiii, 16 plates, 12 text-illustrations, and 1 map. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1955.

This monograph, the first in an intended series on various subjects related to the archæology and art of India, is dedicated to the three earliest temples in Chamba in the Panjab Himalaya. They are: the Lakṣhaṇā Devī temple at Brahmor; the Śakti Devī temple at Chatrārhi, and the Markulā Devī temple in Chamba-Lahul, all three dedicated to the Goddess under various names. None of the shrines has survived in its original condition, yet they are remarkable in having preserved much of their rich and elaborate wood carvings, and the first sanctuaries still contain fine brass statues of the Deity. These, as well as two other images found in the same area, bear inscriptions giving the name of the artist and of his patron, the Mahārāja Meruvarman, and belong, according to palæographical evidence, to about A.D. 700. The importance of this group of monuments was stressed by Professor J. Ph. Vogel after he had explored the sites in 1902-8, and it was on his

instigation that Dr. Goetz undertook the task of their publication and of the unravelling of their complicated history. According to Dr. Goetz, Meruvarman was the founder of Brahmor, the last capital of the Brahmapura kingdom, which covered most of the Panjab Himalaya. He believes that this kingdom was established late in the sixth century A.D. as a barbarian frontier state by the "Gurjara", hordes of undefinable barbarian tribes, whose cultural traditions were in part derived from Central Asia, perhaps with some elements traceable to prehistoric Europe, and who were gradually integrated into Hindu civilization. In the tenth century, this state had developed into the Chamba kingdom, a pure Rajput vassal state of the mighty Pratihāra empire of Kanauj.

The monuments under discussion are complex in style. They have in the main to be regarded as offshoots of late Gupta art, with Pallava, Chālukya, even Gandhāra elements, and they are, moreover, connected with the popular practice of the region, which may be traced back to pre-historic times. Later additions show influences from Kashmir and from Tibet.

This book does not make easy reading. Since no reliable literary sources were at the author's disposal many of his statements are bound to be conjectural, and it is difficult to follow him into the maze of his inductions. Also, one would have been pleased to see some details of the temples reproduced on a larger scale. The book, however, will be gratefully received as illustrating an almost unknown and most interesting phase of Indian art and architecture, and as an ingenious reconstruction of the events forming its historical background.

EMMY WELLERZ.

LA STATUAIRE PRÉANGKORIENNE. By PIERRE DUPONT. pp. 240 + 46 plates. Ascona: Editions Artibus Asiae, 1955.

This sumptuous and richly illustrated volume brings to fruition many years of brilliant research on early Khmer sculpture. It will be a worthy memorial to Pierre Dupont, whose recent untimely death when on a visit to Bangkok is a severe loss to South-East Asian studies. Assuming that the earlier art of Fu-nan (reign of Kaundinya-Jayavarman, *ca.* A.D. 478-514) is known only from literary sources, the author goes on to show that on the other hand the sixth-century art of Fu-nan is represented by the splendid Viṣṇu images from Phnom Da. This he does partly on the basis of investigations carried out at Angkor-Borei and Phnom Da, and partly through interpreting the evidence of a late inscription. He then shows that from these more nearly Indian (Gupta and post-Gupta) statues of Phnom Da, the Sambor and other pre-Angkorian styles were developed in the seventh and eighth centuries. Not only does he make some changes in the accepted chronology, but

he analyses iconography, sculptural technique, dress, coiffure, etc., of each style with the diligence and acumen that one has come to associate with the work of French art historians of this region. The relatively few Buddha images are considered, and there are valuable chapters on the historical background.

It is a little disappointing to find that the problem of the statues from Si Thep (Śrī Deva), Siam, is only incidentally mentioned. But what little the author does say on the subject constitutes a significant withdrawal from his former position. Writing in 1936 (*RAA.*, x, p. 105) he had bluntly stated that these statues "sculptées en ronde-bosse complète" were related to Khmer statues of the eighth to ninth centuries. In 1941 (*BEFEO.*, xli, p. 233) he so far relaxed this opinion as to say that the Si Thep sculptures were "encore mal situé chronologiquement". Now (p. 67) he admits that their "iconographie et l'habillement offrent des connexions perceptibles avec le style B du Phnom Da [late sixth century], quoique les visages et les proportions des corps restent assez différentes".

It is also noteworthy (p. 128) that the long-robed Viṣṇu of Takuapa is dated as early as the sixth century A.D., and related to Indian prototypes not requiring arch supports in the manner of the pre-Angkorian images. In a previous article dealing with the long-robed class of Viṣṇus in general (*BEFEO.*, xli), he had attributed their origin to Pallava influences, and it does not seem an improvement to substitute now a Dvāravatī "origin", since this can scarcely give any guide to ultimate origins.

Two minor points call for comment in the historical sections. On page 77 the inscription of Tham Pet Tong is taken to indicate permanent conquest by Bhavavarman I of the region between the Mun River and the Dangreks; but the contrary opinion of L. P. Briggs (*The Ancient Khmer Empire*, p. 45) that the inscription indicates merely a raid, and that the region remained independent of Chen-la until the early part of the seventh century is borne out by recent, as yet unpublished, archaeological researches in that part of eastern Siam. On page 69 a late sixth-century Avalokiteśvara image is cited as the earliest evidence of the Mahāyāna in South-East Asia, but the earliest evidence is provided by the Kedah Mahāyānist inscription of the early sixth century.

This outstanding work will, through its originality of treatment and the consciousness it arouses of what is still to be done, be certain to encourage further inquiry. With so few pre-Angkorian sites as yet excavated finality was not to be expected. Had Pierre Dupont lived, no scholar would have been better fitted to evaluate the new finds that the future may bring to light, and introduce such modifications as may then be necessary.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

The Anniversary Meeting was held on 10th May, 1956, with the President (Sir Richard Winstedt) in the chair.

The following Report of Council, 1955-56, was laid before it and passed :—

His Majesty King Gustav VI of Sweden and Their Excellencies the Ambassadors of Burma and Israel were elected Foreign Extraordinary Fellows.

The Society regretted the loss through death of the following Members : Colonel E. Boyd-Morrison, Professors H. Webster and Dewan Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan.

Seven Members resigned : Sir William Tarn, Professors J. R. Firth and J. Garstang, Dr. L. Sammy, and Messrs. J. S. Hewitt, J. Kellas, and H. Kevorkian.

Forty-four new Members were elected : Professors N. N. Acharyya, Mazher Ali Khan, R. A. Stein, and Z. N. Zeine, Drs. Badre-Ahsan, A. Bougerolle, F. Pocock, and H. J. Taylor ; Rev. E. Langton ; Messrs. F. A. Ala, P. K. Anklesaria, Mhd. Arif Ali Ansari, Mhd. Aslam, J. W. B. Bentley, O. P. N. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, O. E. Clubb, B. Dhingra, H. F. Duckworth, Moustapha Emir Ghaleb, Y. D. Gundevia, S. B. Gurewicz, Y. M. Khan, A. M. McCleary, G. Makdisi, Mhd. Yunus Maris, N. Mirza, E. C. Naylor, P. J. Parr, M. P. Phillips, G. H. B. Reynolds, D. P. Singhal, C. Skinner, J. K. Stedman, M. Sullivan, S. L. Tikhvinsky, A. L. Tramlé, V. T. Vatuk, and B. S. Whaley ; Mesdames J. M. Jacob, H. A. Strong, and K. P. K. Whitaker and the Misses U. Goel, S. Gunewardene, and K. S. Vatrak.

Grants.—The Society gratefully acknowledged the following grants for the financial year ending 31st December, 1955 : £250 from the British Academy, £200 from the Government of India, £46 from the Government of Malaya, £28 from the Government of Singapore, and £5 from the Government of Hong Kong.

The Society was also indebted to the British Academy for the first grant of £400, payable from the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of its *Journal*.

Lectures.—Dr. D. L. Snellgrove lectured on "Newari Culture in the Nepal Valley", Dr. C. J. F. Dowsett on "Travels in the Armenian Diaspora", Professor A. S. Tritton on "A Muslim Pilgrimage in 1662", Mr. O. P. N. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel

on "A statistical approach to Chinese History", Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf on "Inter-caste relations in Nepal", Professor Z. N. Zeine on "Baha'u'llah, his Life and Teaching", Dr. F. R. Allchin on "Early Archæologists in India", and Dr. P. M. Holt on "The Sudanese State under the Khalifa 'Abdallahi".

Gifts.—The Society was indebted to E. D. Ross, Esq., for a bust of Sir Denison Ross by Lionel Leslie, to Mrs. Irene Chambers for a catalogue of Sir William Jones's Library, to Mrs. N. M. Cory for journals of the North China Branch, and to Sir Richard Winstedt for a Sarawak bronze gong.

Publications.—Professor L. A. Mayer generously defrayed the cost of reprinting his *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*.

Universities' Prize Essay.—The alternative subjects were "The Muslim Legacy in Sicily and Southern Italy", "The significance of the first European travellers to the Mongols", or any subject chosen by the candidate and approved by the Council. The prize was awarded to Mr. G. R. G. Hambly for an essay on "The significance of the first European travellers to the Mongols".

Triennial Gold Medal.—This was awarded to Professor W. Perceval Yetts, C.B.E., D.Lit., M.R.C.S., for his contributions to the study of Chinese art and archæology.

Honours.—Dr. A. Waley was made a Companion of Honour.

Editorial Committee.—The following additional members were appointed to the Editorial Committee: Professor H. W. Bailey, Drs. A. L. Basham and O. R. Gurney, and Mr. H. C. Bowen.

Miscellaneous.—The School of Oriental and African Studies approved the reappointment of Mr. A. Master as the Society's representative on its Governing Board.

Mr. T. D. Gundevis was co-opted to the Council on the nomination of the High Commissioner for India.

Officers and Members of Council.—The Council recommended the election of the following:—

A Vice-President.—Professor H. W. Bailey.

Honorary Officers.—Dr. L. D. Barnett (*Librarian*), Mr. C. C. Brown (*Treasurer*), and Mr. D. Sinor (*Secretary*).

Members of Council.—Professors E. G. Pulleyblank and A. S. Tritton; Drs. Mary Boyce and D. M. Lang, and Messrs. H. C. Bowen and A. Master.

Auditors.—Dr. A. L. Basham and H. C. Bowen as Honorary

Auditors, and Messrs Price Waterhouse & Co. as Professional Auditors.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. C. C. Brown) pointed out that the two salient features in the accounts were the receipt of £400 from the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of the *Journal* and the omission of any item for Rates on that part of their premises used solely by the Society, the result of its successful claim to be exempted as a scientific body. A general refund of one year's rates wrongly charged reduced the entry for rates on the Flats in their building for 1955 to £18 10s. 2d., against what was the proper and normal figure.

The item for income tax recovered on covenanted subscriptions covered two years, and it would be greatly to the benefit of the Society if more members would sign covenants that entailed no liability for themselves. The cost of repairs and renewals had been high. A chimney had to be rebuilt, and the back of their house was painted, as required by their lease.

In moving the adoption of the Report for 1955, Sir Walter Gurner summarized its main features. He congratulated Dr. Waley on the high distinction of Companion of Honour recently conferred on him. He drew special attention to the importance of the grant from the British Academy on behalf of the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of the Society's *Journal*, on the status and quality of which, he said, not only the reputation of the Society, but the maintenance of its magnificent library so largely depended, through the accession of works of scholarship submitted for review. Among gifts received during the year he commented on the special interest of the catalogue of Sir William Jones's Library, and on the bronze gong from Sarawak presented by Sir Richard Winstedt, which, he said, would be accepted as a token of all the work Sir Richard had done on behalf of the Society for yet another year. He also expressed the thanks of members to Mrs. Davis, the Secretary, and Miss Fell, the Assistant Librarian, for the services they continued to render in their respective spheres.

Professor Hansford seconded the motion.

The Report was passed unanimously.

The President (Sir Richard Winstedt) said that centenarians were commonly supposed to face the chances and changes of life with an almost objective equanimity. And if centenarians acquired this equanimity, how much more so a Society, many of whose

members moved unperturbed through the pleistocene age, a Society that itself had lived through 133 chequered years. 1955 had seen no major event in its life. But the year had not been without incident. For, as they had heard, through the good offices of the British Academy the Nuffield Trust was giving the Society a grant of £400 a year for the enlargement of its *Journal*. When the gift was made, it would have covered the cost of an extra 100 pages a year. But since then the cost of printing had risen 15 per cent, and that before the strike which had so delayed the issue of the Spring number. However, the Society expected to enlarge the *Journal* as planned.

It was not easy to produce a *Journal* to suit all tastes. Lord Nuffield's expert had only to see one number to realize that even with a nautch-girl in colour on its cover their *Journal* could never command a sale on railway bookstalls. If there were any attempt to popularize it, the rigor of their philologists came into play with caustic references to an *Oriental Picture Post*. If the strait and narrow path of scholarship were followed, then they were blamed, as one of the more distinguished of their past Presidents was disposed to blame them, for meticulous pedantry. Pedantry and its jargon had existed since the first medicine-man stunned a naïve audience with the abracadabra of the first incantation. Technical vocabularies were inevitable. But it was strange how prone scholars (and civil servants) were to invent jargon with its

*Desiccation of the world of sense,
Evacuation of the world of fancy,
Inoperancy of the world of spirit.*

However, the jargon of their *Journal* was not new-fangled like the "interfluvium" of the geographer or the "sacral" of the anthropologist; it was, indeed, of such a respectable age that like the jargon of jurists it had become almost intelligible English. And who were they to refrain, when the *Literary Supplement* of *The Times* indulged in such words as "autodidact" and "meiosis"? After all, scholars were only keeping pace with the painters and musicians of an abstract and jangled world. Besides, as the medicine-man had learnt, an esoteric vocabulary did impress the uninitiated. Often their faces would endorse what a distinguished historian once wrote to a philosopher friend: "You must be very clever to understand the sort of books you write."

The British period in the history of Asia was in its death-throes.

It was the period that had produced the Society and its prolific Asian offspring and imitators. But its passing would not lead the Society to endorse the poet's cry of despair :—

*Because these wings are no longer wings to fly
But merely vanes to beat the air,
The air which is now thoroughly small and dry,
Smaller and drier than the will,
Teach us to care and not to care,
Teach us to sit still.*

On the contrary, their Society felt more than ever that it should be up and doing, because more than ever it had a function to perform, the function of keeping intact and strong that cultural link between Europe and Asia which was the best and most potent link of all, seeing that however fierce the shouts of nationalism, men were all of one race, the human race.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES' ESSAY PRIZE TO MR. G. R. G. HAMBLY

After the Anniversary Meeting, the President presented the Universities' Essay Prize to Mr. G. R. G. Hambly, formerly of Malvern College, and now of King's College, Cambridge. Congratulating Mr. Hambly, the President wished him success in his plan to pursue Oriental studies.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE SOCIETY'S TRIENNIAL GOLD MEDAL TO PROFESSOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS

Presenting this Medal, the President said that when more than forty years ago chance sent a young medical officer to the British Legation at Peking, not he himself could have foreseen that his short sojourn in that romantic capital was to lead the University of London to recognize Chinese Art and Archaeology as a proper subject for academic study, and to establish courses, diplomas, and degrees with a professorship—which Dr. Yetts was to hold with so much distinction, that among his students were Chinese who had since made a mark in their own country. No one present would be unaware of the major works that had qualified Professor Yetts to be added to the short list of recipients of the highest honour the Society could bestow—a list that numbered among its twenty names such experts in Oriental art and archaeology as Vincent Smith, Sir Aurel Stein, and Sir John Marshall. It was thirty-one years since Professor Yetts published his first work on Chinese Bronzes,

following up that volume by three on the Eumorfopoulos collection, and one on the Cull, the last two works being far more than the catalogues their author modestly termed them. Ritual bronzes, Buddhist sculpture, and the art and culture of the Han dynasty had been more especially his field, and writing of them he set up a new standard of systematic scholarship for Chinese archaeology. Apart from his major works, he had contributed many important articles to the *Burlington Magazine* and to the *Journal* of the Society. But they still eagerly awaited his long-promised *magnum opus* on Chinese Ritual Bronzes. Centring on his life's work there had been many diversions to trespass on his time, the Chairmanship of the Committee that arranged the great Exhibition of Chinese Art, and the Chairmanship of the China Society, as well as the hours spent on the Council of their Society and in reviewing books for its *Journal*. They all wished him many more years of fruitful research.

This was not the first Gold Medal Professor Yetts had received. For half a century ago he was the Admiralty's Gold Medallist for Hygiene.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

| SUBSCRIPTIONS— | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|-------|----|----|--------|----|----|
| Fellows | 453 | 12 | 0 | | | |
| Non-Resident Members | 322 | 4 | 0 | | | |
| Students and Miscellaneous | 51 | 13 | 2 | | | |
| Compounders | 129 | 0 | 0 | 956 | 9 | 2 |
| | <hr/> | | | | | |
| GRANTS— | | | | | | |
| British Academy | 250 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " " Nuffield Trust | 400 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Government of India | 200 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " " Malaya | 46 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " " Singapore | 28 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| " " Hong Kong | 5 | 0 | 0 | 929 | 0 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | | | | |
| RENTS | | | | 953 | 0 | 0 |
| JOURNAL ACCOUNT— | | | | | | |
| Subscriptions | 675 | 0 | 11 | | | |
| Sales of copies and offprints | 177 | 17 | 4 | 852 | 18 | 3 |
| | <hr/> | | | | | |
| INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS | | | | 529 | 2 | 8 |
| REBATE ON COVENANTED SUBSCRIPTIONS | | | | 201 | 13 | 10 |
| INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT | | | | 12 | 13 | 6 |
| ROYALTIES | | | | 21 | 2 | 10 |
| SALE OF CATALOGUE | | | | 11 | 6 | 10 |
| SALE OF "OR. MSS. COLLECTIONS" by J. D. Pearson | | | | 12 | 10 | 5 |
| SUNDRY RECEIPTS | | | | 31 | 19 | 6 |
| REFUND OF PART OF RATES ON OFFICES PAID IN 1954 | | | | 262 | 5 | 8 |
| BALANCE ON 31.12.1954 | | | | 882 | 17 | 10 |
| | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | £5,657 | 0 | 6 |

GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960-90.
 £2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69.
 £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Loan.
 £1,149 3s. 11d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.

COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS ACCOUNT INVESTMENT

£924 13s. 2½% Funding Loan 1956-61.
 £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.

PAYMENTS FOR 1955

PAYMENTS

HOUSE ACCOUNT—

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------------|-----|----|----|-------|----|----|
| Rent and Taxes | 354 | 7 | 6 | | | |
| Rates on Flats | 280 | 15 | 10 | | | |
| Water | 55 | 18 | 5 | | | |
| Gas and Light | 144 | 12 | 4 | | | |
| Coal and Coke | 148 | 10 | 10 | | | |
| Telephone | 19 | 7 | 2 | | | |
| Cleaning | 11 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| Insurance | 67 | 13 | 7 | | | |
| Repairs and Renewals | 408 | 16 | 1 | 1,491 | 19 | 9 |

SALARIES AND WAGES 1,551 0 11

PRINTING AND STATIONERY 66 11 9

JOURNAL ACCOUNT—

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|---|---|-----|---|---|
| Printing | 743 | 8 | 1 | | | |
| Postage | 21 | 1 | 4 | 764 | 9 | 5 |

LIBRARY EXPENDITURE 37 15 8

GENERAL POSTAGE 51 1 2

SUNDRY EXPENSES—

| | | | | | | |
|---|----|----|---|-----|----|---|
| Teas | 43 | 12 | 6 | | | |
| Lectures | 11 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| National Health and Insurance | 52 | 14 | 3 | | | |
| General | 83 | 16 | 8 | | | |
| Fee for Income-Tax Claim | 21 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Audit Fee | 5 | 5 | 0 | | | |
| Legal Fees | 31 | 10 | 0 | 248 | 18 | 5 |

BALANCE ON 31.12.1955

| | | | | | | |
|---|-----|----|----|---------------|----------|----------|
| On Current Account | 921 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| Cash in hand | 3 | 17 | 5 | | | |
| " " Post Office Savings Bank | 520 | 4 | 11 | 1,445 | 3 | 5 |
| | | | | <u>£5,657</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>6</u> |

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described and hereby certify the said Abstract to be in accordance therewith.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.

Professional Auditors.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { HAROLD C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Council.
H. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Society.

24th August, 1956.

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1955

| RECEIPTS | | | | ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND | | PAYMENTS | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------|----------|
| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 | | | 8 1 | OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS TOWARDS | | | |
| SALES, 1954-55 | 159 | 0 | 7 | COST OF VOLUME XXX | | | |
| INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT | 1 | 7 | 11 | BALANCE, 31/12/55 | 128 | 15 | 9 |
| | | | | | 32 | 0 | 10 |
| | <u>£160</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>7</u> | | <u>£180</u> | <u>16</u> | <u>7</u> |

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH FUND

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 | 252 5 8 | BALANCE, 31/12/55 | 312 3 7 |
| SALES, 1954-55 | 59 17 11 | | |
| | | | |
| | <u>2312 3 7</u> | | <u>312 3 7</u> |

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUNDS' BALANCES 31st DEC., 1955

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|----------|----------|------------------------------|------------|----------|----------|
| ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND | 32 | 0 | 10 | CASH AT BANK— | | | |
| ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONO- | | | | On Current Account | 284 | 4 | 5 |
| GRAPH FUND | 312 | 3 | 7 | On Deposit Account | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| | <u>344</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | | | | |
| | | | | | <u>344</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> |

TRUST FUNDS, 1955

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

[illegible]

GOLD MEDAL FUND

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 | 33 7 11 | 31/12/55 BALANCE CARRIED TO | |
| DIVIDENDS | 9 15 0 | SUMMARY | 48 2 11 |
| | <u>£48 2 11</u> | | <u>£48 2 11</u> |

UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|------------|----------|----------|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|------------|----------|----------|
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 | . | . | . | . | 47 | 9 | 9 | CASH PRIZE | . | . | . | . | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| DIVIDENDS | . | . | . | . | 24 | 12 | 11 | 31/12/55 BALANCE CARRIED TO | . | . | . | . | 47 | 2 | 8 |
| | | | | | | | | SUMMARY | . | . | . | . | | | |
| | | | | | <u>£72</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>8</u> | | | | | | <u>£72</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>8</u> |

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 | 359 7 5 | 31/12/55 BALANCE CARRIED TO | |
| DIVIDENDS | 6 11 1 | SUMMARY | 365 18 6 |
| | <u>£365 18 6</u> | | <u>£365 18 6</u> |

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1955

| RECEIPTS | | | PAYMENTS | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | £ | s. d. | | £ | s. d. |
| PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND . . . | 154 | 15 3 | 31/12/55 CASH AT BANK ON | 615 | 19 4 |
| GOLD MEDAL FUND . . . | 48 | 2 11 | CURRENT ACCOUNT . . . | | |
| UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND . . . | 47 | 2 8 | | | |
| DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT . . . | 365 | 18 6 | | | |
| | <u>£615</u> | <u>19 4</u> | | <u>£615</u> | <u>19 4</u> |

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£800 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).
 £545 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
 £40 3½% Conversion Loan (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).
 Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).
 £220 16s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75 (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1955

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| BALANCE 1/1/55 . . . | 8 | 31/12/54 CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT | |
| INCOME TAX REBATE, 1953-54. . . | 13 7 | ACCOUNT . . . | 1 10 10 |
| DIVIDENDS . . . | 16 7 | | |
| | <u>£1 10 10</u> | | <u>£1 10 10</u> |

INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1955

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| BALANCE, 1/1/55 . . . | 1,475 6 6 | SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN | |
| SALES, 1954-55 . . . | 75 0 7 | STUDIES— | |
| DIVIDENDS . . . | 177 10 9 | Exhibitions, 1954-55 . . . | 150 0 0 |
| INCOME TAX REBATE . . . | 12 9 3 | COMMISSION ON SALES . . . | 10 13 0 |
| INTEREST ON P.O. SAVINGS BANK . . . | 10 7 6 | PURCHASE OF DEFENCE BONDS . . . | 500 0 0 |
| | | BALANCE— | |
| | | CASH AT BANK IN | |
| | | CURRENT ACCOUNT | 664 14 1 |
| | | CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS | |
| | | BANK . . . | 425 16 6 1,000 10 7 |
| | <u>£1,751 3 7</u> | | <u>£1,751 3 7</u> |

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
 £1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
 £700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
 £253 13s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).
 £1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968-73.
 £923 7s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75.
 £500 4% Defence Bonds.

We have examined the above Statements with the Books and Vouchers and hereby certify the same to be in accordance therewith. We have also had produced to us certificates in verification of the investments and Bank Balances.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.
 Professional Auditors.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C.2.

Countersigned { HAROLD C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Council.
 H. L. BASHAM, Auditor for the Society.

24th August, 1956

JRAS. OCTOBER 1956.

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